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# Greenies, Growlers and Goffers: The development of the Royal Navy Habitus

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**“Greenies, Growlers and Goffers”: The  
development of the Royal Navy Habitus**

**By**

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**Student Reference Number 246550**

**This thesis is submitted to Plymouth University in  
fulfilment for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**January 2017**

## **Copyright Statement**

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## Acknowledgments

I left school in 1982 with no qualifications, the British education system had effectively said to me that you had failed at this most basic level. However, the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy disagreed with that assessment. They saw in me something worth developing albeit under their terms. I have only gratitude to the services, or more accurately the people within, for the opportunities and support they have given me in my career.

The subject of this PhD thesis was a result of many long conversations about how the Royal Navy and Royal Marines are able to take civilians and turn them into functioning members of the Royal Navy with my good friend and former Royal Marine, Dave Gardener. The thorny question of how this is achieved caused many enjoyable, diverse, wide-ranging and in-depth conversations. Although we never arrived at any conclusion, it did present a very interesting thread for further research. It was from this nebulous idea that this PhD evolved. However, whilst this PhD has my name on it, the project does involve the support and encouragement from a significant number of people in its development.

I cannot thank my Supervisors, Dr Norman Gabriel and Dr Joanna Haynes enough for their dedication, support, enthusiasm and encouragement during this 6-year journey. They were always willing to answer a question or to simply listen to and be enthusiastic about my next exciting/crazy, new idea or breakthrough. Throughout, their gentle guidance has enabled me to maintain momentum and direction. They both seemed to apply just the right amount of pressure when required and sense when to relax. For this I am forever in their debt.

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This PhD is dedicated to Alison, my big sister, who was sadly taken from us far too early but has always served as an inspiration for me to reach further and higher.

## Authors Declaration

At no time during the registration for the research degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award, without prior agreement of the Graduate Sub-Committee. No work submitted for this research degree at Plymouth University formed part of any other degree either at the University or at another establishment. During this six-year part time Plymouth University PhD I have given presentations at European Association for Practitioners Research in Learning conferences

### Conferences:

Shobbrook, R. (2010) Recognition, Remission and Re-Appraisal: the three R's of Implementing Mentoring Schemes in Initial Teacher Education. Presentation workshop at the 2010 EAPRIL Conference: Lisbon, Portugal.

Shobbrook, R (2014) Positionality as a researcher when investigating your own specific cultural habitus. Presentation workshop at the 2014 EAPRIL Conference 2014: Nicosia, Cyprus.

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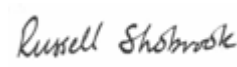
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## **Abstract**

This thesis applies the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu to investigate the development of a Royal Navy habitus. It is one of the first studies to uncover distinct social processes within the Royal Navy that otherwise would have largely remained unknown to a wider academic audience. An ethnographic methodology was used to investigate the attitudes of serving members of the Royal Navy using an approach that was informed by the Biographical Narrative Interview Method (Wengraf 2001). In my analysis, I constructed a complex picture of how individuals develop a particular habitus, showing how the interplay between the institutional and individual habitus influences the process and pattern of their choice making. Through the development of the institutional habitus and its internalisation by each person, the previously unthinkable becomes possible, the possible becomes routine and not doing the routine, unthinkable. This sets the pattern for subsequent behaviours which are passed on to the next generation. Although each reproduction is subtly different it falls within the broader outline of the institutional habitus as constituted at that time. The Royal Navy creates aspiration through division by developing competition between the different ranks of its personnel within the organisation. Strong familial relationships, kinship bonds and the development of an affective dimension through traineeship produce the Royal Navy habitus that becomes the structuring principle for agents' future career development. Through the imposition of an institutionally defined cultural capital, agents engage in this process in order to realise their career ambitions.



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## **Chapter One-Introduction**

### **“Greenies, Growlers and Goffers”: The development of the Royal Navy Habitus**

The title of this thesis highlights the opaque nature of the Royal Navy. This opacity is particularly pertinent to those that are about to embark on their career within the Royal Navy. As they progress through their career, those that are able to adapt and fit in with the demands of the Royal Navy and will become enculturated. This enculturation includes, to those outside its confines, its somewhat strange lexicon. As they develop the RN habitus they become the arbiters of RN culture and this is passed on to the next generation. The social processes that enact this are the subject of this thesis.

### **Overview**

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in social processes within the work place. There is a distinct move away from essentialising, structuralist approaches towards those that are more interpretive and contextualised, one which recognises the uniqueness of the individual setting (Thye and Lawler 2006). Under the broad umbrella of figuration or process sociological research (Gabriel and Mennell, 2011), the relationship between people and the organisation or environment continues to be examined and explained. The inner workings of the RN, like many public service organisations, are largely unknown to wider audiences and therefore can sometimes

appear to be mysterious. Rousseau & Friedman (2001) emphasise the importance of contextualising organisational research to enable a wider public to engage with it. This research study focuses on people joining the Royal Navy (RN) and how they experience the transition from civilian to service personnel and their subsequent career development. It is one of the first studies to use a Bourdieusian perspective to examine the Royal Navy. There are other research studies specifically on the Royal Navy and undertaken by those within the RN setting, but this research tends to focus on the way leaders and managers are developed as well as organisational change. The research that has been previously conducted is quantitative, focusing on the psychological aspects of effective command and leadership (Young & Dulewicz 2007), and identifying competencies of effective leadership (Young & Dulewicz, 2009). Within the broader organisational setting, Young (2009) proposes the development of a model for change. One sociological study (King 2004) examined team ethos, values and beliefs, and produced an idealised view of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines by someone well embedded within that particular context.

Jolly (1996) examined the transition from military to civilian. The research focused on the sometimes quite problematic transition individuals experience when they leave the military and return to civilian life. Her research was based on a large number of interviews and personal accounts. The recurring theme was that individuals experience problems and issues in the de-conditioning process. She proposed that this is part of being made to feel that they 'belong to an elite and taking pride in being slightly apart from the society that they serve' (Jolly 1996:152). Additionally, belonging to, and then

subsequently leaving the military family creates internal conflicts and a real sense of a lack of control. This sense of 'family' and the impact it has on developing a new identity are features that are explored in my research (see chapters four and five).

Bunyard's study (1995) provides the closest alignment to my research as she examined young Royal Navy recruits' personal and occupational career aspirations. Her work provides a focus on the phase 1 recruit and how they perceive their career ahead of them and then offers some commentary. It is framed within 'youth research' but is focussed on the transitions young people make when joining the military and their present and future aspirations. Bunyard (1995) contends that previous research essentialised the traits of 'youth' and presented a broad perspective on the issues facing them as they entered the world of work. Her research highlights that there are discrepancies between the main body of research within a civilian context and the military. Her study also demonstrates the particularities of the military context and how these must be considered when conducting research within this field. This particularity is something that I have continued to highlight within my research.

Using semi-structured interviews, Bunyard (1995) sought to explore young people's perceptions and aspirations of their future RN career. The respondents were interviewed at the very beginning of their career and so their accounts only provide an insight on what they hoped would happen. My research moves beyond the aspiration of what a career might offer and takes a retrospective look at what has actually



happened, highlighting the events that were particular and important to the respondents.

Using the theoretical perspectives of Bourdieu, an ethnographic research approach, and data from biographical narratives (Wengraf 2001), I examined the individual stories of nine respondents from a single Royal Navy training establishment in the Southwest of England. I was particularly interested in their accounts of their career development and how they adapted to the new situation they volunteered for. I explored how, and to what extent, these transitions are facilitated by the Royal Navy training processes and the influence these exert on individuals in the process of their early development and throughout their career. I have been through a similar transition myself and this shapes my perspective within my research. I am in an insider position and this has perhaps generated loyalty to my comrades in terms of proximity and perhaps service loyalty. I am aware of my positioning within the study and throughout this research, I have been diligent and mindful in the data collection and adopted a critically reflexive stance, continually questioning taken-for-granted assumptions and examining 'rich points' (Agar 2006:5) of interest.

The ethnographic methodology I have adopted acknowledges the central positioning of the researcher (Green et al 2012). They argue that the insider perspective provides an advantage as the researcher can often see and comment on the nuances and the particularity of the area under scrutiny. This research has produced a nuanced picture of the lives of the respondents and how they have been shaped by their time in the RN, one that has not been exposed until now.

## **My background**

I am from a military family: my father served in the RAF as an electrical engineer and my grandfather, himself a former engineer, served as a pilot in the nascent Royal Naval Air Service and the Royal Flying Corps during the First World War and as an area commander in the Royal Observer Corps during the Second World War. My Grandmother also served in the RAF during the Second World War. I am a former member of the Royal Air Force (RAF) and served for nearly 14 years as an engineer. I joined at the age of 16 and had a varied and interesting career. I left school with no formal qualifications but I definitely had a plan. Ever since I can remember, apart from aspiring to become an astronaut and King, I only ever wanted to be in the RAF. I joined the Air Training Corps (ATC) aged 13 and very quickly worked my way through the technical qualifications required for promotion. Whilst promotion was not a particularly motivating factor, gaining the technical qualifications was important to me. This presented a tension between the reality of my experience of formal schooling and the accompanying imperative to gain 'O' levels<sup>1</sup> versus the more personally rewarding and enjoyable aspect of learning within the ATC. School seemed to reinforce my sense of failure and the ATC showed me that I was not failing. Moreover, the ATC stimulated and maintained my interest by offering opportunities to go flying and gliding, motor mechanics, learn about amateur radio, engage in sport, undertake Duke of Edinburgh awards and attend summer camps at RAF bases. These positive experiences inspired me to join the RAF.

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<sup>1</sup> In the United Kingdom, the attainment of 5 Ordinary or 'O' levels were considered the required level of qualification for those completing their compulsory education aged 16

The RAF gave me many opportunities for development and gaining qualifications and, like many of my peers who found themselves in a similar situation, the RAF recognised something in me that must have eluded my school teachers, as the training I experienced was successful, rewarding and enjoyable. It was also demanding and intensive but it was something I seemed to excel at and found rather straightforward. This sparked a renewed interest in education and personal development that has been sustained to this day.

After leaving the RAF I worked for several civilian employers in a variety of engineering and research roles and I secured a job in the Civil Service, teaching Ministry of Defence (MoD) Apprentices, at an RAF base local to where I lived at the time. This was my first introduction to a training role and I found it very rewarding. I gained promotion and relocated to work at a Phase 1 and 2 Royal Navy training establishment in the South West of the UK. It was this training role that gave me even more opportunities for personal and professional development. As an integral part of training design, delivery and ongoing development, I was able to observe the recruits first hand and to notice how they developed and changed over the course of their training. I also taught the trainers in this establishment, and supported their development. I was exposed to the whole new 'world' of the Royal Navy with its particular, and sometimes bewildering, ways of talking and its distinctive working practices. Although I was employed by the Royal Navy I was an 'outsider'. From the perspective of insider but also an outsider, I observed for the first time the way the organisation shaped and moulded its personnel and this enculturation caught my interest. It was also during my time there that I

started to notice personnel that I remembered as wide-eyed nervous recruits returning as confident and professional instructors ready to train the next generation. How all this happens and what processes are at work is what started the work toward this thesis and the research question on:

*How RN personnel experience the transition from civilian to a Royal Navy Habitus?*

What follows next is an account of the origins of the Royal Navy, in order to situate it as a distinctive organisation for the purpose of this research.

## **The Royal Navy**

The RN is one of the oldest navies in the world. It has a history going back over 400 years and is known as the Senior Service within the British Military (BBC 2016). This long history has contributed to the creation of its core values, language, norms and rituals.

The core values of the RN are now stated as:

‘Commitment, courage, discipline, respect, integrity and loyalty’ (RN 2017)

These values are derived from the bedrock of teamwork, shared experience, discipline, leadership, motivation and courage, recognisable to any service person.

The Royal Navy has also developed its own type of language or ‘Slanguage’ (Jolly 1989) from a multitude of different dialects and languages spoken by its personnel gathered from around the former British Empire. This, coupled with the need to operate

complex equipment and follow procedures, has led to a very particular way of speaking and communicating.

As with all military organisations, it has its own specific and often peculiar ways of conducting its day-to-day activities through more formal rituals (e.g. marching, formal ceremonies, saluting, showing respect to the crown etc.). These are all activities that create differences between different parts of the armed services, building traditions and particular interpretations of values.

In many ways, it is like an extended family and many members and their families experience and have a sense of belonging within it. Although seemingly modern, the lineage of these core values can be traced back to the emergence of the RN as a profession (Elias 2007).

The RN as a profession emerged from a class-based and divided society. On one hand, there were seaman commanders of ships and on the other hand there were gentleman commanders. The former was considered born to go to sea and worked their way up to professional positions through apprenticeship and manual labour. The latter were part of the nobility and landed gentry who were raised with the 'Military skills [that] stemmed from the values and habitus of noblemen (Courage, fighting spirit, collaboration, discipline, hierarchical command structures)' (Elias 2007:3). Here, Elias was referring here to habitus as the 'socially learned second nature that individuals acquire in the process of socialisation' (Elias 2007:18). The primary

socialisation processes encompass the cultural, educational and familial experiences that an individual is exposed to and embodies. These become ostensibly fixed and second nature. This socialisation led to the prevailing attitude that a seaman commander could not be a gentleman and a gentleman commander could not be a seaman, due to the rigid social hierarchies.

### **The emergence of the RN as a global superpower**

As the race for trading routes began to emerge in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries there was competition by the main European nations of Spain, France and England to dominate these routes. Those sea powers that could develop and dominate would be able to rise in power, wealth and supremacy. Elias (2007) contends that the social divisions within the navies were hampering progress towards this, suggesting that the social division between the white Spanish commanders and the lower class white Spanish and black Moorish sailors resulted in a comparatively slow development of the Spanish navy. For the Spanish navy, the social gulf between the seaman and the officers was so rigid that one could never contemplate crossing from one side to the other. The notion that a gentleman commander could undertake manual labour of the kind required to sail a ship was simply implausible. The physical and technical aspects of sailing ships were the responsibility of social inferiors. The military and fighting skills required to dominate the seas were the responsibility of the socially superior white Spanish Commanders. Elias (2007:12-13) suggests that this racist society 'prevented Spain from becoming a manufacturing country, a great commercial power and a great sea power'.

The French navy had a less rigid social structure and relied upon a centralised bureaucracy or top down command structure. Although it could instigate change quickly it held commanders to account for every action. This resulted in overcautious commanders that were risk-averse and adopted a more rigid and standoff form of naval warfare. Moreover, an important factor in the decline of the French navy was 'the social distance between the sailors and commanding nobles that was reinforced by Louis XIV's constitution of his naval forces. This constitution assured the supreme control for the nobles' (Elias 2007:13).

Elias (2007:14) contended that 'England had to become a great maritime power or else, as an island nation she would have suffered a fate worse than that of Spain'. This drove progress. It was the military prowess of the nobility coupled with the nautical skills of the lower classes that enabled the English fleets to use and deploy their superior firepower and dominate the seas relatively unchallenged. This integration between the two strata was borne of conflict between nations and internal rivalries as the commoners rose in social standing and the nobility fought to hold on to the old ways and privileges. But crucially, it was the imminent threat to the nation that enabled these conflicts to be worked through and form the basis of the Royal Navy structure we have today. It is a structure that ensures that all officers develop both command and leadership and nautical skills whilst starting from a common point of the midshipman. The creation of an apprenticeship process for Royal Navy officers is similar in nature to the route that sailors undertake as they rise through the profession to become Sailing Masters.

This openness to change between the two social strata was not a feature of the French navy until sometime after their revolution and simply did not feature in the Spanish navy. As Elias so succinctly puts it, a process that allowed the social barriers to be crossed

‘on the one hand societies have to permit a certain degree of openness as a precondition for the amalgamation of two groups of people, and on the other hand the fusion of the groups which is the answer to the processes of specialisation and integration can only be brought about when the conflicts are played out in the open. Rivalries must not be stifled’

(Elias 2007:14).

The result for the RN was, as Janowitz notes, that in the

‘British Navy [there] was a greater reliance on the middle-, and even lower-class personnel in its officer corps, because men were needed to perform the arduous and skilled tasks of managing a vessel and its crew’

(Janowitz, 1960:23).

As a profession, the Royal Navy continues to change and, although the members may come and go, ‘it is the changing situation of the whole community which creates the conditions for the rise of a new occupation and determines its course of development’ (Elias 1950:291). Although the Royal Navy is capable of changing according to different social conditions, it also has a strong sense of a continuing tradition and culture in terms of connection to its past. This gives rise to the view that members of the Royal Navy see it as a family with its matrix of relationships and hierarchies. As an organisation, the Royal Navy is relatively stable, enduring and capable of adaptation,



but over time. Needle (2004:143-149) suggests that an organisational culture is representative of the collective values and beliefs of its members and is a product of its past endeavours and ultimately its national identity. Wilson (2014), Rodger (2004), RN (2017a) and Elias (2007) further discuss how the naval past is ingrained within English/British national identity and the social and economic history of England/UK. Elias (2007:3-5) argues that the Royal Navy is one of the key institutions of British society and part of the nation's power structure. This suggests that the organisational culture of the Royal Navy is representative of the nation and the nation is in turn represented within the Royal Navy.

For much of its history the Royal Navy has been an exclusively male culture and led by almost exclusively by ethnically white individuals. With such a long history of male exclusivity, it is not that surprising that the Royal Naval culture is characterised by an overtly masculine identity, situated within a gender performative context (see Butler 1990:2). Plester (2015:540) suggests 'Gendered performances have a script that can provide us with the ideals of masculinity and femininity and this script guides us to which behaviours are appropriate and which are not'. This ideal is one that has been socially constructed and is related to the power and privileges certain groups accrue through institutional cultural capital. Power is vested within the idealised gender performance as it becomes an aspiration and a marker of acceptance within the organisation 'to produce the phenomena that regulates and constrains' (Butler 1990:2). In order to be accepted within an organisation such as the Royal Navy both

male and females are required to aspire to this gendered performance in order to advance their career.

This manifests itself in a form of hegemonic masculinity (Plester, 2015:241). The term recognises that to be masculine is contextually dependant and creates a normalised ideal. Both female and males are required to aspire to this masculine ideal, resulting in a form of coercion and dominance as they attempt to attain acceptance within the Royal Navy. There are some examples within my research where respondents did not wish to be seen as failing to conform to this masculine ideal. They did not want to be seen as a 'mummy's boy' or appear 'too weak' to accomplish a task. The failure to meet this ideal resulted in personal distress, as discussed in chapters four and five. One female respondent aspired to be her manager's 'right hand man: the go to man', rather than right hand woman: go to woman. This subtly illustrates how this person endorsed hegemonic masculinity in order to be accepted. However, there is also an indication of change in the way emic language is being used as one respondent highlighted. The term 'sea dad' (see glossary-P252) has now got a female equivalent of 'sea mum'. The function is similar i.e. looking after the development of less experienced members of the crew. Unlike the term 'Sea Dad', 'Sea Mum' does not feature in Jolly (1989 and 2011). This publication is considered at the definitive book on naval slang or 'slanguage'. This suggests the term 'Sea Mum' is still relatively new but a developing term. However, this small change may also be indicative of how the hegemonic masculine Royal Navy culture is slowly evolving as a result of females serving at sea.

Kaspersen and Gabriel (2005, 2008, & 2013) argue that a nation or state can be described as a survival unit. The Royal Navy, along with organisations such as the British Army and Royal Air Force, constitute the survival unit and are at the behest of the government. They are called upon to carry out orders on behalf of the state. This direct state control and accountability places them in a different category to that of a commercial organisation. To sub-divide them further, only the Royal Navy, Army and RAF are actually tasked with going to war. Therefore, these organisations are different to the other instruments of state such as the police and fire service in terms of the role they perform, although the military do get involved in replacing these services when they engage in industrial action such as the fire fighters strike (BBC 2002). To further divide the three armed services, they are different from each other in terms of the terrain they predominantly operate in and the way they execute their roles. Within the Royal Navy there is a figuration (Elias, 2007:133), or lattice of relationships, between families and other distinctive sub-units such as engineers or submariners and that ultimately constitute the survival unit. This intimate relationship between the constituent parts and the higher order organisation provides a starting point to research the interconnected parts that constitute the RN.

### **The modern RN context**

Jolly (1996:152) argues that 'the military is a world of action, not introspection'. The RN, along with the other two services, relies upon highly trained personnel to operate and maintain a vast amount of highly technical equipment. With this task comes an increasing amount of theoretical study in the management and deployment of such

equipment. Whilst there is a significant amount of theory to be understood it is almost exclusively in support of its practical application, action orientated and theoretically underpinned. To successfully deploy and use this technical equipment is down to training and yet more training not only in terms of quantity and repetition, but also the intensive, demanding and realistic scenarios replicating the multitude of environments the military could find themselves operating in. There are often heard sayings during Royal Navy training that go *“train hard-fight easy”* and *“sweat on the training ground saves blood on the battlefield”*. Both recognize that the eventual role is to close in on and engage with the enemy. But to maintain battle readiness requires significant and ongoing application, in both physical and mental terms.

All personnel joining the Royal Navy start at the same point. For Officers, it is as an Officer Cadet and for Other Ranks (ORs) it is a recruit. It is not possible to join the RN at any other rank unless the applicant has previous military experience in that rank and that experience is not a guaranteed promotion<sup>2</sup>. So, the Royal Navy, in line with the rest of the military, have a defined career pathway: they can develop their personnel and instil their values from the very beginning. It is similar to that of an apprenticeship model (Richard 2012, FES 2016) whereby organisations can develop personnel in their image and be sure that they have the appropriate values, beliefs and ethos. This is also a model that is synonymous with most uniformed public service organisations such as the police service, ambulance service, fire service, and health service.

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<sup>2</sup> Even those transferring from the RAF or British Army are required to undergo basic recruit training so as to assimilate them to the RN and its particular ways of working

Unlike the Royal Navy, civilian organisations allow appropriately qualified and/or experienced individuals to join at most levels within an organisation. This credentialist model of social mobility (see Brynin 2002, Walters 2004) does not feature in the Royal Navy as they use a meritocracy. Personnel in the Royal Navy cannot apply for promotion, rather individuals are selected, based on merit. The attributes required for promotion are institutionally defined. These attributes include things such as ability and proficiency in specialisation, length of service, particular courses undertaken, previous experiences in a specific area and undertaking of additional duties within the wider social context of the RN (e.g. community projects, charity work etc.). Individuals are required to, through symbolic violence that is by its very nature misrecognised (a theme developed in Chapter 2), develop their enduring individual habitus to the current one that fits the Royal Navy's institutional habitus.

Every member of the RN will have an annual report produced by their superiors and this report will contain suitability and recommendations for promotion to one and two ranks up. A recommendation is still no guarantee of promotion. If there are more personnel recommended than there are positions the promotion board will make a selection, on the basis of a narrative account of the individual. If there are more posts for promotion than suitable personnel it will not appoint to make up the numbers.

The promotion board will select based on attributes that they feel reflect those required to maintain and uphold the Royal Navy's core values as well as leadership and technical ability. This approach will privilege those that conform and display these attributes. This positions people to act in ways that develops their status and ongoing career benefits.

## **Training**

Almost all training is delivered in-house by service personnel, civil servants, contracted out training providers or a combination of all three. Service personnel delivering training do not join the Royal Navy to take on this teaching role in the same way a teacher in the compulsory or post-compulsory education sector would do. Instead, personnel join the Royal Navy in a specialist trade such as Operator, Weapons Engineer Submariner, Meteorologist, etc. are later selected to become instructors at the many training units. As they join they pass through various 'phases' of training. Phase 1 is basic training and aims to turn a civilian into a functioning member or rating in the Royal Navy. Currently, this initial phase usually lasts 10 weeks and training is currently conducted at HMS Raleigh in Cornwall. Phase 2 is where ratings learn the basic parts of their specialisation. This is undertaken at various training military establishments across the UK. These Phase 2 courses vary in length from 11-50 weeks, depending on specialisation. They then usually leave the training establishment and go out into the Fleet to gain experience and learn through a combination of on-the-job training (OJT) and specific tasks set out in their task books. As personnel gain a greater understanding of their job role they return to training establishments to undergo further, or Phase 3, training. At every stage of this training they will be taught by experienced instructors. Promotion through the ranks is ostensibly through merit. As well as personnel transfer through these various phases and drafts they may experience a sense of loss and attachment to their ship or shore establishment and members of their mess-deck. As personnel join a ship or unit they are expected to work hard to become a functioning member of it, creating close kinship ties with their

peers that go beyond the normal working day. Continual churn and movement, accompanied by a sense of loss and attachment, is part of a normal naval career and personnel accept it as another part of what is euphemistically called “*life in a blue suit*”. It also subliminally re-enforces organisational discipline as individuals are required to succumb to the organisational demands and whims. As change and movement of personnel is a continual theme, people learn quickly how to get on and tolerate different people and situations. This means that they are better able to fit in quickly when they arrive at their next posting or ‘draft’ (see glossary-P250). The assimilation of a new job is in itself a seemingly straightforward proposition. However, I argue that it may not be as simple as it first seems and is dependent upon many factors. These may include things such as personal benefits, how it fits in with their personal and family circumstances, previous experience of the ship, area of deployment, department, and other personnel and how it may affect their career.

The nine respondents in this research passed through Phases 1-3 training as students.

Figure 1, overleaf, gives an overview of the three phases of training.

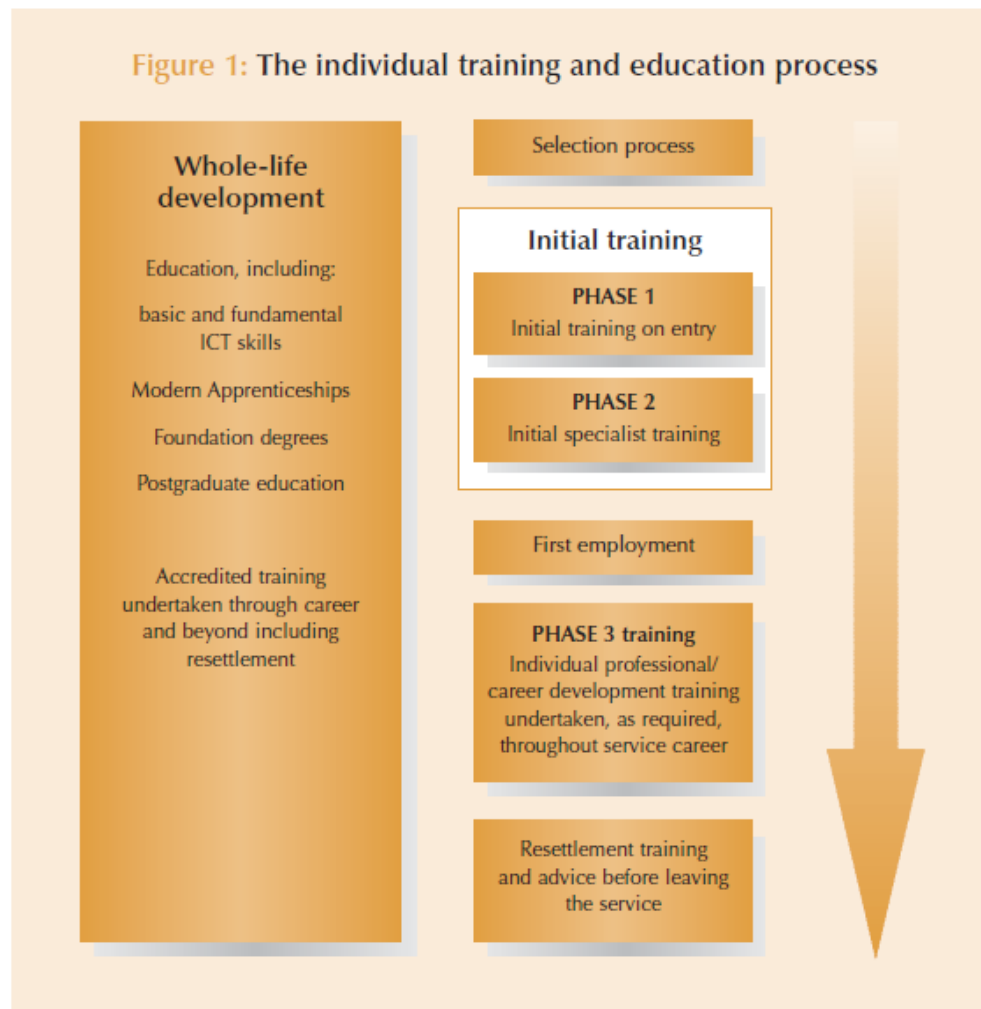


Figure 1 adapted from All (2005) p14

All Royal Navy personnel, in common with the other three services, are trained by instructors. They are vocational specialists who now instruct in their subject.

Historically, their selection for the instructor role has not always been based on any specific talent or flair for teaching (Blake 2006). Rather it was part of something called harmonisation time whereby personnel can have shore time after a lengthy sea deployment as well as offering some stability in family life. Personnel are posted or 'drafted' to shore-side roles or 'billets' (see glossary-P249) for approximately 2 years and this includes instructional roles. Thus, the up-to-date, relevant operational













experience gained from service in the fleet is used to instruct the next generation of sailors. However, the instructor selection criteria have now been superseded by a more formal process of suitability and aptitude contained within the annual reporting process.

Royal Navy personnel are organised in a hierarchy that is stratified according to rank.






The current rank structure for the Royal Navy is:

Commissioned Officers (adapted from RN 2017b)

	Midshipman-The rank held by those completing their training for their specialist role at Britannia Royal Naval
	Sub-Lieutenant-The rank given after 12 months service and while still training
	Lieutenant-the rank given after successful training and they have moved into the operational environment.
	Lieutenant Commander-The rank given to those in charge of a department on a large ship, an Executive Officer (XO) or a commanding officer in a smaller unit
	Commander-The rank given to those who may be in charge of a warship or submarine, Fleet Air Arm squadron or shore establishment. They could also serve as a Staff Officer in the Ministry of Defence or Permanent Joint Headquarters
	Captain-The rank given to those that command large ships or hold a more senior position on shore
	Commodore-The rank given to those commanding a large Royal Navy establishment

	Rear Admiral-The rank given to those that have responsibility for an entire capability within the Royal Navy. This is a Flag Rank
	Vice Admiral-The rank given to those who are second in command to an Admiral. They work at governmental level and help develop and implement defence policy. This is a Flag Rank
	Admiral-The rank given to those with overall responsibility for the Royal Navy. It is a Flag Rank and the highest rank in the Royal Navy

### Other Ranks (RN 2017b)<sup>3</sup>

	Able Rate-The rank given at the very beginning of a Royal Navy career
	Leading Hand-The rank given to those that, after some experience and further training, will manage small groups of Able Rates
	Petty Officer-The rank given to those that have responsibility for sections within a department and is a Senior Rating or non-commissioned officer
	Chief Petty Officer-The rank given to those that have more responsibility in the department. Officers rely heavily on the skills, knowledge and experience of the Chief Petty Officer
	Warrant Officer 1-The rank given to those that have reached the highest level as a Senior Rate. They provide the crucial leadership link between officers and the ratings serving under them.

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<sup>3</sup> A typical Career for Royal Navy Other Ranks is 22 years in which time they would normally be expected to attain the rank of Chief Petty Officer or Warrant Officer 1

Officers are in charge and have overall responsibility for their personnel. They set strategic and operational direction and ORs enact these. This arrangement has not changed much since the emergence of the Royal Navy as a naval power as described by Elias (2007) and would be recognisable to personnel from that era. Each of these broad groupings has its own character that are established from the moment they join the Royal Navy with the recruiting process being significantly different for Officers and ORs, reflecting the requirements and responsibilities of the roles they perform. Officers are required to undertake a three-day Admiralty Interview Board (AIB) currently in Portsmouth where their suitability is extensively assessed. ORs attend interviews and aptitude assessments at one of many Royal Navy careers offices around the country. Officer training is conducted in a different location to that of ORs and is significantly longer as it involves additional elements of leadership and management. This reflects the eventual role they will be required to undertake. The development of the Officer class has always been linked to social class and division (Elias 2007). ORs are trained in leadership and management at key points (see glossary-P251 for Leading Rate Command Course or LRCC and P252 for Senior Rate Command Course SRCC) in their career. This reflects the role they undertake as an OR. In one form or another, this is a process that has been embedded within the Royal Navy for a very long time.

Although this thesis is not about class, it does need to be examined at this point as it supports Bourdieu's notion of distinction (Bourdieu 2010) that accounts for the specific RN Habitus which I argue stratifies the field of enactment and drives aspiration in the

Royal Navy. Chapters Four and Five give examples of where distinction and stratification is in evidence and the impact it has on the participants.

Bourdieu does not discuss class directly, nor does he offer a taxonomy or other classification system that other theorists do (Crossley 2008:87). However, he does make extensive use of culture and lifestyle in his analysis under the broad description of social space. The social space is based on three key dimensions centred on the volume of capital, the composition of capitals (different types) and change in both volume and composition over time (Bourdieu 1984: 114). It is one's position and disposition within the social space that contributes towards social mobility and experiences, ultimately forming and shaping an agent's habitus. The position within social space is a combination of an individual's volume and type of cultural capital. This combination can be typified by overt ownership and displays of cultural artefacts e.g. paintings and bespoke furniture, and undertaking highbrow cultural activities such as attending the opera or going to an art gallery. Those with lower volumes of cultural capital would have artefacts that form a practical function and would exclude themselves from such high-brow activities. This is further stratified in other ways such as choice of language, ways of presenting one's self and other social indicators of distinction (e.g. dress, manners and conduct).

The Officer class have greater volume of cultural capital in terms of qualifications as nearly all are graduates and from a middle-class social background. There are no comparable figures for the Royal Navy but 84% of the British Army officer recruits are

graduates and 46% attended private schools (Blackhurst, 2012). This would be similar in the Royal Navy, particularly as the main focus of Officer employment on ships, submarines and Aircraft (RNAS) is focussed on the technical aspects of their continued operation. They tend to come from families that have access to greater volumes of cultural capital in the form of private education, familial status and power (see Joyce 1998) and the Admiralty Interview Board (AIB) recruiting process expects to see these indicators at selection, although Devine (2004) suggests that this is not so straight forward or automatic. Moreover, a clear demarcation is in decline as evidenced in the recent social class survey undertaken by Savage et al (2013). They highlight that the traditional class lines in terms of positioning, capitals and economic wealth are becoming significantly blurred. The blurring of class lines will eventually be reflected within the three armed services.

Other Ranks (ORs) are generally not as highly qualified and the selection process does not look for the indicators of cultural capital in the same way they do for applicants to become an Officer. However, it does look for other traits that it sees as desirable for a career in the RN. As an OR progresses through the Royal Navy they are conferred with accumulations of institutionally defined cultural capital in terms of rank, additional pay, responsibility and distinguished with different uniforms and separate living accommodation. There is an expectation that all individuals will aspire to climbing through the ranks and ultimately, they could join the Officer corps. However, I argue that only those that possess and display the appropriate institutionally defined cultural

capital will progress. This hypothesis was an early finding in the subsequent investigation for this thesis (See, for example, Alan p.172)

The distinction between ORs and Officers could also be considered a form of Social Closure (Parkin 2001). He suggests that the generally accepted definition of social closure involves creating defined boundaries and a specific identity to monopolise resources and exclude others. The Officer corps have drawn very clear boundaries in the form of different modes of dress, speech, rank structure, and exclusive eating and living quarters. They are arbiters of discipline and can hand out punishments that include fines and loss of freedom. However, there are several distinct groupings within the Royal Navy as well. For example, the Submarine Service employ a form of social closure to ensure that only those that it deems to have met their institutionally defined set of standards can join and enjoy some of the additional benefits of extra pay and conferred prestige associated with belonging to an elite part of the service.

## **Transitions**

Any transition to a new working environment can be problematic and there is a considerable amount of research that examines this (e.g. Fouad & Bynner 2008, Wallis 2016, Grant & Patil 2012, Niessen, Binnesweis and Rank 2010). Part of this transition inevitably involves learning new skills, adapting to the new setting, understanding and conforming to the core values of that organisation. Joining the military tends to place additional demands on new recruits. The Royal Navy, like a civilian organisation, requires its personnel to quickly assimilate a new habitus, adopting its core values and

ethos. But the development of this new habitus with its core values and ethos is less well researched and as such has not been problematized. This raises the main question and the rationale for this research: how is transition from civilian to Royal Navy personnel experienced and enacted.

The central question of how civilians experience the transition to a military career and how this is enacted is complex. I argue that it is not possible to provide a definitive response to the question, only one that is nuanced and interpretive and based upon the impact of the past and the current and future experiences of a person. Although each person will come with different experiences, the field of enactment within the Royal Navy is largely the same. The individual's response to this change is of particular interest as is how the Royal Navy creates the conditions and structures that constitute the field. This thesis will offer interpretations of the data based on the theoretical framework of Bourdieu. In the data analysis Bourdieusian thinking tools have been used to interpret the empirical data and then used to support the emergent themes.

## **Thesis Structure**

### **Chapter Two-Theoretical Framework**

This chapter examines the relational theories of Bourdieu. His work has been applied across many disciplines and this adaptability and applicability make his thinking tools a suitable theoretical framework to undertake social research in a variety of settings. His thinking tools can be used in social research to help understand the links between theory and practice, and to analyse and discuss empirical findings. These tools can be used to 'explain and illuminate social processes' a 'Bourdieuian language [is] a language which can be used to think with (Grenfell 2008:2). Grenfell suggests that 'any study to be undertaken within a Bourdieusian framework must begin with real, empirical data'.

Central to this thesis is Bourdieu's theory of practice and its constituent parts of the field, capitals and the embodiment of these, habitus. Complementing these are his concepts of the institutional habitus (Reay et al 2001), distinction, doxa, habitus clivé, illusio and symbolic violence. When each concept is applied separately the world can only be viewed from that perspective. But when combined and used in a relational way a deeper insight in to the structure and conditions of a particular social setting emerges.

This study used Bourdieu's theories to explain the data from respondents' narratives and then explains it through the lenses of Bourdieu's theories. Bourdieu (1985) contends that individuals who share similar social space will form groups and are more



likely to live and socialise in similar spaces. Crossley (2008:93) further suggests that as a result of their dispositions and position they are inclined to develop a similar outlook and class habitus. Although they are individual accounts, a picture of the structure and conditions of the social context can be developed. It is this flexibility and adaptability, coupled with the particularity of the Royal Navy setting that makes his theories particularly applicable to this research.

### **Chapter Three-Research Methodology**

In this chapter I explain the ethnographic methodology used within this thesis. An ethnographic approach provided a particularly good link between the theoretical framework and the context under investigation. It also places the researcher within the research and recognises that this insider knowledge plays an important role. The research adopts a relational perspective where the individual not seen as a static element but shaped by the wider social processes of interaction that form the context or field of enactment. The relational theories of Bourdieu complement this approach. The data collection approach was informed by Wengraf's (2001) Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method. Nine Royal Navy personnel were individually invited to participate in three in-depth interviews. In Chapter Three, I provide a background to the individual respondents.

Ethnographic methodology does raise the profile and role of the researcher within the study. Therefore, it is important to state my position within this study. From my insider perspective, I have seen first-hand the positive influence the Royal Navy does have in terms of development of its personnel, but I am also critical of it as well. Being a civil

servant placed me in such a position that I was able to articulate my views and opinions whilst not potentially limiting my career. I was never in the Royal Navy so I feel no particular military service-based allegiance to them that could shape my critique but I am acquainted with their particular customs and ways of working to notice nuances and subtleties that other researchers may fail to notice. Being in the position of an outsider with an insider's perspective, I am well-placed to undertake research in this specialist area.

## **Chapter Four-Navigating the Seas: the development of the Royal Navy habitus**

In this chapter, the in-depth interview transcripts and lived life data forms are examined using a non-linear, generative approach in which the data is viewed through the lenses of the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice. As an individualised picture emerged, this was distilled into the relational themes within this theoretical framework. One important theme suggests that there is a specific RN habitus. Where appropriate and applicable I have added examples from my own military training and wider experience of the Royal Navy.

Through my analysis of the data, I have produced a nuanced and complex picture of how individuals develop a particular habitus and the profound influence the Royal Navy has, though the institutional habitus, on them whilst serving *and* when they return to civilian life. Strong familial relationships, kinship bonds and the development

of an affective dimension through traineeship ensure that the Royal Navy habitus becomes the structuring principle for agents' future career development.

## **Chapter Five- Aspiration Through Division: The Royal Navy as a symbolically violent organisation**

This chapter argues that the Royal Navy creates division within its rank structure to encourage individuals to develop their careers in order that they can realise the benefits that accompanies them. I apply the Bourdieusian concepts of doxa, illusio and symbolic violence to illustrate and support my argument whilst highlighting how the institutional habitus shapes the choices that individuals make. Doxa is used to denote what is taken for granted and where, 'what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying' (Bourdieu 1977:165). Illusio is used to denote the extent to which individuals engage in the field to close the gap between their habitus and the requirement of the dominant doxa. Symbolic violence is used to denote the way groups or individuals are marginalised or dominated and this is misrecognised as being the natural order of things. In order to function and realise any benefit within the dominated society, individuals must undertake pedagogic labour. I suggest that the Royal Navy adopts a symbolically violent approach to developing their personnel. The symbolic violence and adherence to the doxa creates the division that drives its personnel to aspire to develop their career, ultimately to the Royal Navy's benefit.

## **Chapter Six-Conclusion**

In the concluding chapter, I discuss the main findings as well as areas for future research and investigation. Also, it discusses the effectiveness of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and the data collection method. I have also used this theoretical framework as a tool for introspection and reflection as I examine the impact undertaking this research has had on me as a researcher and as a person.

This chapter has provided an introduction to the thesis as well as a short examination of the historical roots of the Royal Navy and how its distinctiveness can be traced back to the emergence of the profession. As a point of departure. I have highlighted the suitability of Bourdieu's theoretical concepts for this thesis.

I have given a brief autobiography of my own life and previous military service. It is important that the reader has an understanding of my background and positioning within this research. My previous experiences have provided me with a more nuanced and informed background to explain how the career of navy personnel is structured and developed within the social space that is often referred to as the 'Royal Navy family' by its members. There is an organisational culture within the services of continual action and movement. This results in Royal Navy personnel following a well-trodden career path where there is an expectation from both the organisation and the individual that they will be able to develop. Personnel go through different phases as they move from civilian to specialist and then back to civilian. This thesis highlights

how they experience the transition from civilian whilst developing a specific RN habitus and the mechanisms which support or facilitate this.

The next chapter examines in more depth the theoretical framework that is used to explain the relationship between the Royal Navy and the individuals that constitute it.

## **Chapter Two-Theoretical Framework**

### **Introduction**

Bourdieu is seen as one of the pre-eminent thinkers of the twentieth century. His work covers diverse areas such as art, anthropology, culture, art, education and politics. His main contribution is the development of thinking tools which can be applied to uncover the workings of a particular society. Gale & Lingard (2015) contend that there has been a significant increase in the use of his theoretical approaches in social and educational research. They further suggest that Bourdieu is probably the most used theorist in the sociology of education. Wacquant (1989:50) also encourages researchers to work with Bourdieu's theories and concepts and the thinking tools they use. Although his thinking tools *can* be applied in isolation I argue they become more powerful and provide greater insight when applied to social phenomena. In this thesis, I have utilised this approach and applied his thinking tools in a relational way to provide deeper insight in what is a complex and nuanced research area.

### **A Bourdieusian framework**

To examine Bourdieu, we must include reference to power, dominance and privilege (see Wacquant 2013 & 1989, Moore 2004) and my research will investigate how these elements manifest themselves within the Royal Navy. Although the words 'habitus' and 'Bourdieu' are often seen as synonymous, I argue that where his theory can really be tested is when it is coupled with 'field' and 'capitals' to form his general theory of practice (Bourdieu 1977). It is only relatively recently that Bourdieu's ideas have been

used as a whole theoretical perspective rather than each one individually (Swartz 2008, Dobbin 2008). To apply each of Bourdieu's ideas in a non-relational or singular form is not how he intended it and leads to a poverty of insight and application.

Bourdieu never claimed to have a finished theory (See Wacquant 2013 & 1989, Moore 2004, Rawolle & Lingard 2013, Grenfell 2008 and Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, Vaughan 2008). Rather, it is an ever evolving relational one. Bourdieu does not have separate theories to explain the integration of the individual within a social structure in relation to power. Indeed, Rawolle and Lingard (2013) suggest that his successive studies raise broader questions about how different aspects relate. As Dobbin (2008:53) argues the whole is much greater than the sum of its parts and its potential is still yet to be realised in mainstream social research. Thus, his theories should not be viewed as a series of individual ideas and perspectives but rather a way of locating agents in social space.

Rawolle and Lingard (2013:117) point out that Bourdieu's theories overcome a range of sociological and conceptual dualisms that help us gain a greater understanding. They highlight dualisms such as the structure and agency relationship. Bourdieu recognises the tension between these and his concepts such as habitus are an attempt to overcome these dualisms. Through his research and application of his relational theories a fuller picture of the relationship between these central themes is presented. He stresses the importance of reflexivity and the relationship between the researcher and the matter being studied (Bourdieu 1986).

Much of Bourdieu's work integrates theory and data and 'his accounts emphasise the social world as being the product of social constructions, [and] yet also more than such constructions' (Rawolle and Lingard 2013:117). One of the keys to understanding his work is to view social phenomena in relation to the context or field in which they are enacted; his theory of practice. In addition to this theory, it is also important to consider his ideas around doxa, Illusio and habitus clivé and how they constitute symbolic violence (Grenfell 2008 & Colley 2012). I see these concepts not as adjuncts to his theory of practice but as integral and relational parts to the overall understanding of the area under investigation.

### **Bourdieu's early work**

It was during a period of unprecedented and significant social change in France and their former colonies that Bourdieu developed his ideas, essays and theories. He stated that his ideas and theories are a product of the prevailing social conditions and their antecedents (Grenfell 2008). Although undeniably a constructivist in his orientation, his initial research in Algeria in the late 1950s was quantitative and influenced by the American acculturation theorists which moved to reject the 'crude empiricism or positivism in scientific methodology' (Robbins 2008:32-33). More latterly, in the 'Logic of Practice', he recognised that the subjectivism and objectivism that were dividing the fledgling social sciences were 'the most fundamental and the most ruinous' (Bourdieu 1990:25). He suggests that they are 'modes of knowledge' and argues that it is 'necessary to go beyond their mutual antagonism whilst preserving what can be gained from each' (Bourdieu cited in Grenfell 2008:43. Bourdieu wanted



to produce an account of the changing French colonial social and anthropological history from the Algerian lived perspective rather than the conventional state historical one. From this period of research, he concluded that the initial social function of education within the Third Republic of France of social solidarity had now become a 'mechanism for social division' (Robbins 2008:33).

What became clear to Bourdieu was that neither structuralism nor existentialism fully explained human action. He argued that choices and decisions were a consequence of many personal and contextual conditions and these are negotiated by means of an individual strategy. This strategy or individual action he suggests is

'from an unconscious calculation for profit- albeit symbolic (in the first instance) and strategic positioning in the three-dimensional social space to maximise individual holdings with respect to their availability'  
(Grenfell 2008:44).

He called this his 'theory of practice' and therefore why I argue that this is one of the central themes in relation to my research question.

As the starting point, it is important to explore the three main components of his theory of practice or thinking tools namely habitus, capitals and field and relate this with the Royal Navy context. Maton (2008:49) explicitly states that habitus

'is probably the most widely cited of Bourdieu's concepts...Yet, habitus is one of the most misunderstood, misused and hotly contested of Bourdieu's ideas. It can be revelatory, and mystifying, instantly recognisable and difficult to define, straightforward and slippery. In short, despite its popularity, habitus remains anything but clear.

This then represents a challenge for any researcher to utilise Bourdieu's theories for knowledge creation. However, through careful analysis and explanation I will relate

each step with how it relates to the practices in the Royal Navy. I will construct a picture as to how his theories are relevant to my research on Royal Navy personnel.

Bourdieu (1994:170) defines habitus as a property of social agents that comprise of structured and structuring structure elements. (See table 1 below).

<b>'Structured'</b>	<i>Originates from one's past and present circumstances such as family upbringing and educational experiences. For Royal Navy personnel, this would involve elements of ethos and values as well as membership of a new family, shared experiences and mores. Their position in the field or rank structure within the organisation generates 'capital'</i>
<b>'Structuring'</b>	<i>One's habitus helps to shape one's present and future practices. For Royal Navy personnel, this relates to the theory of practice and the tendency towards a strategy which would maximise profit in terms of better pay and conditions, status and opportunity to further advance their career</i>
<b>'Structure'</b>	<i>It is a structure that is systematically ordered rather than random or unpatterned. This comprises of a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices. For Royal Navy personnel, this would be a strategy based upon knowledge, experiences, mores and familial networks. In addition, their disposition towards action which is a further strategy based upon profit and strategic positioning a tendency towards 'picking your fights' (a phrase often used by Royal Navy personnel)</i>

Table 1 produced from the writings of Maton (2008:51) and Bourdieu (1990:53)

Maton (2008) makes the point about the importance of disposition to Bourdieu. He views disposition as crucial for bringing together the ideas of structure and tendency.

Maton cites Bourdieu's view on disposition

'It expresses first the result of an organizing action, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure: it also designates a way of being, a habitual state and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination'  
(Bourdieu 1979 cited in Maton 2008:51)

Bourdieu (1993:87) argues that these dispositions or tendencies are durable and transposable. Thus, for Royal Navy personnel they develop a habitus that aims to ensure that personal agency and social structure can be reconciled. Clearly there will be times when the demands of the social structure, i.e. the needs of the service, will override personal agency. Bourdieu (1986:101) argues that the individual deals with this inequity or inconsistency in their practice based upon habitus, field and capital. He summarises this with the following equation

**[(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field=Practice** (Bourdieu 1986:101)

This suggests that all agents have a habitus as they do not operate within a vacuum. For Royal Navy personnel, there are two very distinct fields which they occupy in the initial stages of their career. They join as civilians and for many, in the early stages, it is a very alien culture but most very rapidly assimilate a new Royal Navy outlook and perspective. Those that fail to do so will not progress in the Royal Navy and usually leave at a very early stage. Almost everything about the Royal Navy is different to the former life or 'practice' they had as civilians.

In Chapter Four I will argue that there is a RN habitus, one specifically developed and different from the habitus the individual had before they joined. Wacquant (2013) offers some important insights here. He suggests that habitus can be sub-divided into primary and secondary habitus. This needs to be explored in more depth as it represents a shift in the overall perceptions of what habitus is, as well as showing how

it becomes both durable and transposable. Ontologically speaking, it must also be remembered that habitus is not composed solely of mental attitudes and perceptions, it is also embodied; 'it is expressed through durable ways of standing, speaking, walking and thereby feeling and thinking' (Bourdieu 1990:70). Primary habitus, Wacquant suggests is enduring and is a result of primary socialisation within the familial setting and secondary socialisations derived from education experiences (experiential and didactic) including cultural objects and taste.

However, with secondary habitus a system of transferable or transposable schemas are grafted on and gained through specific pedagogical labour. These secondary schemas are shorter in duration, quicker or accelerated in pace. The two-modal (primary and secondary) acquisition of cultural, familial and educational experiences shapes the agent's dispositions and the accumulation and type of cultural capital. Wacquant (2013) argues that every agent has primary (or generic) habitus and this provides the dispositions and a matrix for the subsequent acquisition of a multiplicity of specific or secondary habitus. However, Wacquant (2005:462) whilst exploring the pugilistic trade does not acknowledge the positive familial influence when he advances his theory of traineeship, or secondary habitus development, whereas it is central to Bourdieu's perspective on habitus. This raises the question of what could the role of another 'family' be, such as the new Royal Navy family and its matrix of relations and hierarchies on the developing secondary habitus. Does an overt familial influence move it from just another transposable and transferable traineeship or can it become

so embedded that it actually becomes the enduring primary habitus? This aspect is examined in more detail within chapter 4 of my thesis.

When conceptualising Wacquant's theoretical perspective and applying it to the area under scrutiny, his exposition on the attainment of a corporeal craft, i.e. martial arts and other fighting disciplines, proved particularly apt and relevant. The successful attainment of the secondary habitus is based on the primary. Wacquant argues that the relative distance between the secondary habitus and the structured system of primary dispositions provide the scaffolding and makes for an easy, or difficult, traineeship. This theory is quite transposable to other areas of adult education and training and is particularly relevant to the work-based learning of Royal Navy training and how individuals make the transition from civilian to specialist and their subsequent career development milestones, such as promotion and role changes. My research suggests that Wacquant's notion of traineeship is very much in evidence within Royal Navy training and is very effective at turning civilians into trained personnel.

There are 3 key components that need to be developed in order to have a successful traineeship (Wacquant 2013).

**Cognitive**-this component is the mode of arrangement and meaning that makes up the pattern of perception of the tapestry of a classification system. This is the system that both separates and relates things, persons and activities into the distinctive semantic

tapestry. It is more than a simple classification system; it is a personalised way of creating cognitive order.

**Conative**-this component relates to the physical capacity to undergo change and includes psychomotor skills, sensory and kinaesthetic dexterity. Included within this would be physical changes to the body and the various adaptations and learning the individual can make to overcome any shortfalls.

**Affective**-this final component I would argue is the main component. It is not sufficient to act in accordance with or in a conforming fashion, the individual must live it; aspire and be part of it. Wacquant (2013) argues that one must invest one's life energies in the objects, undertakings and the agents that populate the area under consideration.

Thus, to become a member of the Royal Navy one must quickly understand and classify the new system or culture as well as physically capable of changing.

The concept of habitus has been used in other studies as well. One that is particularly relevant was carried out by Simpson et al (2014) on those in the butchery trade. In this article, they explore the meanings that men give to what they term 'dirty work', that is jobs or roles that are seen as distasteful or undesirable. They identify three work-based meanings: sacrifice through physicality of work; loss and nostalgia in the face of industrial change; and the distinction from membership of a shared trade. They suggest that as a result of these, men develop a working-class habitus that is

reproductive and productive. Whilst Simpson et al (2014) do not describe or use habitus in the primary and secondary terms that Wacquant does, it is easy to see his ideas at work in their explanation of the research findings. For example, they discuss the training period in a similar way to apprenticeship where new comers have to learn the trade not only in terms of the overt knowledge but also the tacit unwritten rules as well. This is very similar to personnel joining the Royal Navy and comes under the umbrella of Wacquant's notion of the cognitive and affective domains. Moreover, the research by Simpson et al (2014) provides some good illustrations of how limited choice and expectations at the familial stage go on to reproduce itself generationally. Thus, competency in butchery, physicality coupled with limited opportunities and an ever-shrinking industry are the hallmarks of this field.

The similarities with many of the Royal Navy personnel are quite striking. Many join with limited qualifications (See Appendix 4-for an example of a respondents lived life data forms) and the Royal Navy do not currently require formal qualifications for many specialisations. The job is physically demanding and requires the acquisition of new skills and experiences that young people would not normally be exposed to. There is one key difference in that there are career development opportunities within the Royal Navy and my research suggests that there is an expectation that personnel will engage in pedagogic labour to attain them (discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter Five). This brings us to the relevance of Wacquant's secondary habitus distinction. I argue that the opportunities are there if the individual can adapt their cognitive, conative and affective thinking and behaviour through pedagogical labour.

Wacquant (2013) argues this is based on their primary habitus and dispositions. There is also sacrifice in terms of personal freedoms and the job can place them in mortal danger. But membership of the Royal Navy with its long tradition, sense of duty and shared values is very desirable to some and they willingly undertake the pedagogic labour required to flourish within the organisation.

## **Institutional Habitus**

This thesis argues that the RN is a ranked social space where the different components of the institutional habitus can be explored. I have analysed the ways in which an institutional habitus affects and develops individuals' habitus. The Royal Navy is an institution that exerts influence on an individual's process and pattern of choice making. But what is an institutional habitus? Reay et al (2001) use Bourdieu's central concept of habitus as the point of departure to help understand processes within an institution:

'Any conception of institutional habitus would constitute a complex amalgam of agency and structure and could be understood as the impact of a cultural group or social class on an individual's behaviour as it is mediated through an organisation. Institutional habitus, no less than individual habitus, have a history and have been established over time. They are therefore capable of change but by dint of their collective nature are less fluid than individual habitus'.

(McDonough 1996 cited in Reay et al, 2001 para 1.3).

Their emphasis is on the familial influence on the process and pattern of choice making. It is also important to emphasize that individuals are differentially positioned in relation to the institutional habitus according to the extent to which influences of family and peer group are congruent or discordant with those of the institution.



Picking up on the agency and structure component, Darmody (2012) proposes that an individual's social class reflects their dispositions of agency and organisational structure mediates the impact this has on their behaviour. Institutional habitus has a significant impact which mediates the choice making processes, making some choices virtually unthinkable, others possible and yet others routine (Bourdieu 1984).

Therefore, Reay et al (2001: para 1.3) suggest the individual and organisational habitus 'shape and reshape each other', arguing that there is a two-way exchange and each carries an imprint of the other through a matrix of influences. Darmody (2012:534) encapsulates this by suggesting '[that] like individual habitus, institutional ones have a history, have been established and developed over time, and are capable of change...they carry a distinct ethos'. They are reproductive and it is the result of the many individual habitus constituting the institutional one. Whilst both habitus are capable of change, the institutional one is less fluid and slower to adapt as it requires collective consensus that fits within the overall ethos of the organisation.

Reay et al (2001) also propose that there are three elements to institutional habitus: organisational practices; educational status; and the expressive order. It is the last element, the expressive order that is of particular interest to this thesis as it refers to 'the largely intangible but important factors such as expectations, conduct and manners' (Morrison, 2009:218). The various components of an institutional habitus influence the process and pattern of choice making. Reay et al (2001) argue that the extent to which decision-making is a collectivised or individualised process constitutes

part of 'the expressive order' of an institution (Bernstein 1975 cited in Reay et al 2001: para 1.4), and is a further aspect of the practices, attitudes and assumptions which make up the institutional habitus.

Before focusing on the expressive order, it would be appropriate to briefly examine the educational status component. Reay et al's (2001) research examined educational organisations and the way their relative status within the individual habitus is constituted and influences their choice making.

The relative status of an educational organisation and its perceived accessibility will be a result of individuals' upbringing and accumulations of capitals, their habitus. In relation to this research the choice an individual makes to join the services and decide on the Royal Navy will almost certainly be influenced, whether expressed in such terms, by their upbringing and the relative educational status of their individual habitus.

As previously mentioned, the expressive order refers to the intangible factors that make up an organisation. The individual joining the Royal Navy has to rapidly assimilate these intangible factors as well as develop other more overt skills embedded within the organisational practices. Some of these intangibles form part of the Royal Navy's core values of 'commitment, courage, discipline, integrity and loyalty' (RN 2017). In this research, I argue that when they become internalised they form part of the individual's own expressive order, thus helping to develop the next generation of RN habitus. There are other aspects that make up the institutional habitus of the Royal

Navy. For example, the use of a different language or 'Royal Navy slang' (Jolly 1996), the use of semiotic devices as discussed in chapter 4, operating as a 'family' unit and the nearly all white male personnel. Within the organisational practices there are particular methods for training, career structures, contracts of employment (a typical contract is for 22 years) and how they interact with the other two military services. These all form the particular institutional habitus of the Royal Navy and have to be navigated by an individual as they progress through their career.

The interplay between the institutional and the individual habitus therefore influences the process and pattern of choice making. Through the development of the institutional habitus and its internalisation, the previously unthinkable becomes possible, the possible becomes routine and not doing the routine unthinkable. This sets the pattern for subsequent behaviours which are passed on to the next generation and thus reproduced. Although each iteration is subtly different it falls within the broader outline of the institutional habitus as constituted at that time.

The next component in the theory of practice to be considered is that of capitals. This concept seems to be very popular in educational research and like habitus, capitals are 'increasingly being sprayed throughout written texts like academic hairspray' (Reay 2004:432). In Bourdieu's work, cultural capital is considered the central and the major contribution to the 'study and critical analysis of educational process.... [and] forms part of his more general model of social relations and their transformations and

dynamics' (Moore 2004:445). As this is a central component of the theory of practice it is important to look at this in more depth as I argue it provides greater insight into the processes at work within the Royal Navy. Moore (2004) also points out that it starts to reveal the process of misrecognition and symbolic violence which is quite visible within the Royal Navy during training and development of personnel.

## **Cultural Capital**

Traditionally capital has been associated within the economic definition in what Bourdieu (1997) refers to as 'mercantile'. It is considered instrumental as the relationship between capital and profit is explicit. Moore (2004:446) suggests that this is in opposition to the central value associated with culture in that it 'proclaims the principled rejection of such instrumentalism' and can be appreciated for its own sake. The economic investment that must accompany capital results in a tension when the two are coupled together. But cultural capital does not sit in isolation but rather is related to social, linguistic and symbolic capital (Moore 2004:446). With respect to social capital, it is the attributes that facilitate the development of networks and the exchange of favours and associated benefits. With linguistic capital using the appropriate lexicon in a particular setting ensures exclusivity, membership and distinction within that social setting. Symbolic capital refers to resources that become available based on things such as recognition, prestige and reputation.

What these forms of capitals share is that each requires, and is a product of, investment and there is an expected return on that investment. Bourdieu (1986 &

1997) argues that for cultural capital the major recognisable form of investment is formal education. That is not to exclude the familial component but education is the main building block that develops a distinctive primary habitus. It is this primary habitus that can 'equip an individual with the embodied social attributes that confer distinction upon the individual and legitimacy upon the hierarchy of social inequality and stratification of taste' (Moore 2004:446). It is from this central component that the development of other capitals stem. Bourdieu (1984:114) uses the concept of capitals and locates them within the three-dimensional social space. He argues that the three dimensions of the social space (the type, and accumulation of capitals and ability to change them over time) governs the agent's habitus and dispositions and ultimately their trajectory. He argues that it is the three-dimensional social space that encapsulates social class relations. Swartz (1997:163) adds further clarity by stating that 'each habitus embodies both the material conditions of existence of the class and the symbolic differences (e.g. high/low, rich/poor) that categorise and rank its relation to other classes'.

### **The three states of cultural capital**

Bourdieu (1986:18-20) takes cultural capital and divides it in to three distinct sub-types.

**Embodied cultural capital**-this is the inherited or consciously acquired properties of one's self, the form of which is called culture and cultivation. It cannot be delegated and is accumulated through the individual's own labour. Thus, it requires investment in

terms of time, effort, and finance by the investor and incurs some form of personal cost. Once accumulated it cannot be transmitted instantaneously by gift, purchase or exchange. This then makes reproduction of cultural capital a form of replication and assimilation. The acquisition of an embodied state of cultural capital is thus dependent upon the situations, experiences and other external influences the individual is exposed to, usually quite unconsciously. If embodied cultural capital cannot be readily identified in the way that economic capital can, it predisposes it to act or operate as a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1986:18). Embodied cultural capital yields profits for its owner and is dependent upon the distinctiveness of its attributes. As such cultural capital is only valuable if those around have not accumulated it. Moreover, if these agents do not possess the economic or cultural means for moving themselves or their children beyond their current situation then this inequality will be reproduced.

Bourdieu (1986:19) argues that the

‘transmission of cultural capital is in no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital, and it therefore receives proportionally greater weight in the system of reproduction strategies, as the direct, visible forms of transmission tend to be more strongly censored and controlled’

Therefore, it can be seen that the levels of cultural capital an individual can accumulate is not only dependent upon the familial but also on the economic, the availability of cultural capital and how long the family can provide support and at what cost in terms of time and economic resources.

**Objectified cultural capital**-this is cultural capital in the objectified state i.e. the physical objects one owns and displays. However, these are defined only in relationship with cultural capital in its embodied form (Bourdieu 1986:19). This then

raises the possibility that embodied cultural capital can be transmitted instantaneously by the purchase of articles such as paintings, books. However, Bourdieu is quite clear about this point. He agrees that the articles can be bought and thus have economic capital. But what cannot be bought in the transaction is the 'possession of the means for "consuming" a painting [or book], which, being nothing other than embodied capital, are subject to the same laws of transmission' (Bourdieu 1986:19). To simply own articles is the embodiment of economic capital but to appreciate them requires access to cultural capital, using them for an intended or specific purpose. This is where the tension between the cultural and mercantile components of cultural capital start to reveal themselves. As I read this an example sprang to mind from an encounter several years ago with a teacher of electronics. In this encounter, he produced a slide rule. In itself a simple piece of plastic that can be relatively easily bought (although becoming increasingly rare to find). However, to be able to use one as intended requires embodied cultural capital in the form of a more traditional education including mathematics. And so, for someone to own and use a slide rule sets them aside, and certainly within contemporary British education, as someone who is a 'bit clever' and must be good at maths. As with the embodied state, objectified cultural capital has value but only where it is seen as worthwhile or something worth attaining. Returning to the example everyone being able to use a slide rule would be the norm and thus not viewed as an objectified state of cultural capital. Therefore, what constitutes objectified cultural capital is what is relatively rare and is also desirable in terms of the benefits its consumption can bring its users.

**Institutionalised cultural capital**-this is cultural capital in its institutionalized form, what the institution considers as a marker of cultural capital that an agent should possess and is usually in the form of qualifications and conferred privilege. Bourdieu (1986) argues that the embodied and objectified state have the biological limits of the bearer. The institutionalized state transcends this and 'with the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture' (Bourdieu 1986:20). In short, it is a measure of the cultural capital an institution says an agent has at that particular time. This institutionalised state enables an institution to conduct selection, recruitment, promotion and other sorting and grading activities with an otherwise disembodied agent. It effectively separates specific institutionally defined cultural attributes from cultural capital. Whilst they may be one and the same it is the relative value an organisation places on the various components. This is termed the imposition of the cultural arbitrary. As recruitment and promotion can lead to further economic benefits the institutionalised state of cultural capital has a monetary value which can be sought out and exchanged through pedagogical labour and agency. Thus, it places those with qualifications at an advantage to those without from the very start, providing the qualifications have a desirability or scarcity value to them. If everyone has them, it then becomes a distinct disadvantage to not possess them.

So far, I have offered an explanation of Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, however, what has not been examined is what, for him, constitutes culture. As mentioned earlier in this chapter Bourdieu's work cannot be examined without reference to power,



domination and class and this comes to the fore when looking at culture. Moore (2004:446) argues that culture is 'capital in a direct sense as the transubstantiation of economic capital-the investment of economic resources in cultural assets and embodied social attributes and propensities'. This needs to be examined further and in more detail as it is important for the next part, distinction, misrecognition and symbolic violence.

The term transubstantiation is one of many references to religion used by Bourdieu but reconceptualised. The term transubstantiation is traditionally used in Catholicism to describe how bread and wine is actually the body of Christ. The idea of one object being representative (or symbolic) of another is important to the concept of cultural capital. Moore (2004:446-447) states

'[But] symbolic forms of capital are not seen for what they are. They are systematically misrecognised. In this respect, cultural capital, ideologically, has a double aspect: that of its appearance and its reality. The cultural logic of exchange is to reproduce power relations by systematically disguising them.

To see how this is manifested we must return to the institutionalised state of cultural capital. It is the institution that says what constitutes culture and how it is represented. In the case of qualifications or certificates of cultural competence these are achieved through pedagogical labour. The individual must then make a choice, to engage with this and reap the benefits or not. For many the choice to engage is from a position of benefit without recognising that the arbitrary imposition of what constitutes culture is a systematic misrecognition and a form of domination. Under the notion of pedagogical agency, the individual seems to act independently and of their

free will. However, the domination of the structures that impose the arbitrary culture are exerting power and dominance. Through pedagogical labour the dominated

‘Indirectly collaborate in the dominance of the dominant classes e.g. the inculcation by the dominated pedagogic agents of knowledge, or styles whose values on the economic or symbolic market is defined by the dominant.  
(Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:7-8)

Thus, the imposition of what constitutes culture and the

‘positions and relations of the cultural field are valorised by power relations rather than by aesthetic qualities intrinsic to them, then they can be recognised as arbitrary and their imposition through pedagogic action seen as constituting symbolic violence’

(Moore 2004:447).

To suggest that all pedagogic action is symbolically violent requires further examination. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) use an argument of logic which is very convincing. I have explained that the imposition of a cultural arbitrary through pedagogic action is seen as symbolic violence. But what is meant by symbolic violence?

Symbolic violence can be explained as a misrecognition of actions where groups are marginalized or dominated within society (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, Swartz 2008, Vaughan 2008, Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, Moore 2004, Hathazy 2012). The dominated groups misrecognise this as being the ‘natural’ way of things. This is perpetuated through an institutionalised definition of cultural capital, represented through the imposition of a classification system, hierarchy, artefacts and objects. And most importantly through habitus, including both primary and secondary and the field of enactment.

Bourdieu designates culture as arbitrary as it reverses the normal perception. This word 'arbitrary' appears frequently and this needs to be explained. It is generally thought that that objects of culture deserve their status because of some intrinsic quality; something about them is real. Moore (2004) argues that Bourdieu says quite the opposite. He suggests that they are empty and the field of culture is arbitrary:

'in that its position, and the objects that mark them have no intrinsic justifications or qualities. They have meaning only relationally....Each has meaning only in relation to the other. It is the relation that gives it meaning'  
(Moore 2004:447)

The distance between what is considered culture and an agent's current state is then seen as an indicator of their cultural capital. Thus, the imposition of the cultural arbitrary results or strongly encourages the agent to engage in pedagogic labour to close the gap in order to take advantage of the benefits attached to it.

Bourdieu & Passeron (1977:5) encapsulate this in saying 'all pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power'. They argue that pedagogic action legitimises and reflects the interests of those that arbitrarily and historically hold power. As they are the holders of knowledge and thus its onward transmission, they retain the legitimacy for the dominant cultural arbitrary. In other words, and to coin a Royal Navy saying, "it's their train set and they say who gets to play".

The pedagogic action or labour required to gain the certificates of cultural competence are imposed ones and are usually accepted without challenge. This acceptance would

form part of, and be informed by habitus and so symbolic violence becomes normalised. By way of an example consider this. A farmer's children start working on the farm from a very early age and learn the skills, dispositions and particular knowledge gained from experience and guidance within the familial setting. As they leave home and if they go into farming they will apply this experience and knowledge to the new setting and if required develop new skills and continue accumulating, in an embodied state, cultural capital and thus secondary habitus. However, if there is the imposition of certificates of cultural competence and qualifications through the institutional state of cultural capital (which is an increasing trend) this becomes symbolic violence; to be seen as a good farmer you need to 'have' these relational markers of culture. It is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary, in this example qualifications, and other disembodied requirements that require pedagogic action.

To summarise cultural capital is relational and set in the three-dimensional social space. It is not about explaining what culture and taste is from an aesthetic perspective. Rather it explains how the imposition of what constitutes culture becomes a form of domination and by extension, power. However, power and domination is disguised or misrecognised and thus legitimised. As Bourdieu's work is seen as a relational theory there are other components to consider and add further insights to this framework.

### **Habitus Clivé**

Another important theoretical idea is that of habitus clivé (Bourdieu, 2000. Friedman 2015, Bennett 2007). The notion of habitus clivé is linked with social mobility and the

dominant discourse is one of a benevolent force (Friedman 2014, Milburn 2013).

However, there are adverse effects such as a change in kinship ties, intimate relationships and a loss of a coherent sense of self, agency and self-efficacy (Friedman 2015) such as experienced by those leaving the Royal Navy (Jolly 1996). For Bourdieu, there was a sense of occupying two different locations, his humble upbringing and the highest echelons of French academia. My argument is that for those who are moving between civilian and the Royal Navy (and back) they will invariably occupy two different locations. Although the 'new' location of the Royal Navy will come to the forefront of dispositions and ultimately their developing secondary habitus, their habitus stemming from the primary socialisation will still remain. This is explored in Chapter Four. For me this does lead to a tension between Wacquant's (2013) suggestion of a secondary habitus through traineeship and Bourdieu's (1984) and Bourdieu & Wacquant's (1992) contention that the habitus developed through a matrix of primary and secondary socialisations which are durable and enduring and particularly resistant to social change. But as Bourdieu experienced first-hand, the primary habitus maybe durable and enduring but it is not necessarily fixed and thus capable of social change. I would also suggest that the conditions for social change need to be available, accessible and above all worthy of engaging in the pedagogical labour required to achieve them. Although these are not specifically discussed in Wacquant's later publications he was able to assimilate a secondary habitus particularly through the pedagogical labour in *'Fighting Scholars'* (2013).

Reay (2015:11) suggests that for Bourdieu 'habitus is fundamentally about the integration or lack of integration of disparate experiences that make up the biography', but it is particularly when there is a lack of integration that Bourdieu writes about internal conflicts and powerful emotions. To use Bourdieu's (1990) previously discussed argument of structured, structure and structuring within habitus and dispositions (see table 1), those individuals at the nexus between civilian and Royal Navy will draw upon their 'structured' experiences of the past to inform their immediate response to situations (structure) and thus develop structuring strategies to future events. I argue that as an individual gains more Royal Navy-type experiences and adopts the culture, their dispositions toward structuring will become more influenced by Royal Navy-specific attributes and less so by those structured from their primary habitus. It can be seen that an agent's habitus is a key tool in the explanation of their social action and *clivé* is one part of this relational concept. This then suggests that *clivé* is not only a tool for retrospection but for looking forward to possible actions as well. So, as we start to build up a greater understanding of Bourdieu's ideas, the next step is to consider how the context or field of enactment influences the interaction between the agent and their respective fields of enactment.

## **Field**

So far, I have only mentioned the concept of field. This needs to be explored further as it is of significance for this thesis. The concept of the field comes to the fore in Bourdieu's book *Distinction* (1984 and the republished 2010 version also used here). Here he advances theories about social stratification through aesthetic taste. He suggests that the field is the creation of symbolic boundaries and pursuit of presenting

oneself in the three-dimensional social space through aesthetic taste or disposition to represent status and distance from lower groups. Along with, and in common with habitus, aesthetic taste originates within the primary habitus. Overall, the field should be thought of in terms of its relations between agents and the three-dimensional social space.

First, Wacquant (1989:39-40) suggests that analysing the field is a three-stage process. Bourdieu (2010) argues that the position of the field must first be analysed in relation to the field of power. Here we are urged to identify who holds the power within the field. Whoever imposes the cultural arbitrary is where the centre of power resides. For this research project the centre of power resides in the Royal Navy as an entity and organisation and is enacted through its agents and embedded procedures. Secondly, he urges us to map out the 'objective structure of the relations between positions occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for [that authority]' (pp39-49). Within this thesis, it is the overt rank and hierarchical structure of the Royal Navy as well as its inter-personal relationships. And finally, he suggests that we must analyse how agents' habitus and dispositions help them manage the field to maximise opportunity. Moreover, the positions they hold, their personal history and preferences and dispositions placed in the context of the surrounding three-dimensional social space suggest their likely course of action.

In *Distinction* (1984 and 2010) Bourdieu introduces the idea that education and cultural attributes are also key factors that position agents within the social structure

or three-dimensional social space. He introduces the term field in an attempt to collect together idiosyncratic practices that make up the structured social space. These are variously defined as the specific rules, schemes of domination through symbolic violence and other means or ways of thinking and cultural indicators. Warde (2004) and Weininger (2005) both suggest that fields are autonomous from the wider social structures and are naturally situated in the arts, economy, law etc. They contend that in this situation the field is divided through social relations and rules, accumulation of capitals and the development of secondary habitus through pedagogical labour. This last assertion is where the field is important within my research. As an agent joins the Royal Navy they find themselves in a very particular and specific field, the Royal Navy field.

Weininger (2005:136) suggests that

‘the concept of the field is an attempt to foreclose an overtly structuralist interpretation of the social space-that is, one in which the individuals who occupy the various positions are reduced to mere bearers of the structural relations that are encapsulated in them’

It is in this space or field that agents from different classes and dispositions will strategize and compete for an advantageous position. What constitutes an advantageous position is largely determined by the institutionalised form of cultural capital and the effort or determination is marked by each agent’s dispositions and habitus.



Grenfell's (2008) analogy of a playing field to explain this concept is particularly helpful. The playing field is bounded and has players and the games played on a field have rules and strategies so skills have to be learnt. Also, there is the physical condition of the field, mud, holes, gradient and markings, all of which have to be negotiated. Bourdieu suggested that the social field was similar. Within the social field, it is the accumulation of capitals by agents. These are accumulated by the application of various strategies aimed at improving their overall position. The four main capitals suggested by Bourdieu are-economic (money and assets), cultural (knowledge, preferences language and voice), social (affiliations, networks, family and cultural heritage) and symbolic (things that stand for all of the other forms of capital and can be exchanged in other fields e.g. credentials, kudos and status) (Maton 2008:69). Dobbin (2008) argues that field is centred on a common stake within it and encourages people to compete for the same set of material resources and so their behaviour is governed by that competition. It also follows that the development of the individual through training is also shaped by the field and those that impose the cultural arbitrary.

Bourdieu (1984) develops the notion of practice and field and gives them equal importance. Weininger (2005:125) argues that much of Bourdieu's work in *Distinction* is centred on the division of labour and his attempt to widen Marxian and Weberian notions of class, where the definition of class cannot 'be characterized in terms of the canonical division between owners and workers (or which cannot be characterised

adequately or satisfactorily in these terms)'. However, it still has as its touchstone the economic, profit-based undertone.

Warde (2004) argues that there is confusion over the notion of what the field is in relation to practice. The use of his theory of practice 'formula' suggests it can be used in all situations. But this raises the question, can there be many practices within each field or practice within one field (Warde 2004:4)? I would suggest that although the ideas proposed by Bourdieu regarding the field can be seen as fixed and specific. I further suggest that Bourdieu never conceived them as such. Indeed, he is quite specific in describing the field as an ever-changing dynamic environment (Bourdieu 1977). The idea of fixity further suggests that it can be applied in all situations. However, it might be that Bourdieu's style of writing using numerous and varied examples and situations which leads the reader to this conclusion. What should always be remembered is that Bourdieu's work is relational and specific to the context (or field) at that particular point in time. I would also suggest interactions between agents and the three-dimensional social space are a series of decisions and choices which are very difficult to predict with the certainty that a formula would have us believe.

Warde (2004:4) rejects Bourdieu's assertion that 'practices are performed in fields and that many diverse practices and fields are part of a process whereby profits are realised.' He proposes that Bourdieu has marginalised or ignored aspects of the field that do not necessarily generate profits. Examples of this are things such as non-strategic action, purposeful behaviour in non-competitive circumstances, internal

goods arising from participation in practice, discrepancies between competences, social position and emotional aspects of habitus and its interaction with the field.

Reay (2015) also draws on the work of Sayer (2005) and Sweetman (2003) to offer a critique of Bourdieu's concept of habitus suggesting that it does not engage sufficiently with the emotional and affective domain. Instead debates, as Warde (2004) suggests, centre on agency and structure. In her 2004 paper, Reay initially sets out to conceptualise emotional capital. However, in 2015 she feels that a 'conceptual framework for understanding the psychosocial lies not in expanding the array of capitals, but in [the] concept of habitus and how it relates to his third main concept of field' (Reay, 2015:9). If the psychosocial can be understood in terms of habitus, as Reay suggests, where does it reside and how can researchers utilise it?

Reay (2015:10) argues that if the concept of disposition is broadened to include the affective, then emotions such as 'a propensity towards fatalism, ambivalence, resilience, certainty, entitlement and even rage, just as much as a tendency to either theatre-going or watching soap operas' are included within an agent's habitus. As Bourdieu (1984) asserts, habitus is about the integration of, or lack of, experiences that make up the person. This suggests that if there is a lack of integration between experiences then internal conflicts and tensions arise. Reay suggests that the source of this tension emanates from the field conditions. It is the agent's interaction with the field and the demands it places on them that can lead to a lack of habitus integration and thus internal conflict and emotional tensions. How the agent reconciles these

emotions is a hallmark of their habitus and the accumulation of capitals and experiences which they can draw upon.

As Reay (2015) suggests the field is a source of tension and therefore this needs to be examined. The field conditions are not necessarily created by the individual rather they are the result of the complex interplay between all those that have a stake in it. For a researcher to focus on the individual is to only present one aspect. If we use Grenfell's (2008) analogy of the playing field this would be like looking at one particular part and saying this is an explanation of the whole pitch. Emirbayer & Johnson (2008) challenge us to integrate Bourdieu's key concepts when researching in order to get the fullest picture and answer the 'ah but' counter statement or argument. Recent research (e.g. Swartz 2008, Vaughan 2008, and Emirbayer & Johnson 2008) is using Bourdieu's theory of practice for organisational analysis, something that has not been done before.

## **Doxa and Illusio**

These concepts are inextricably linked and interdependent so I will offer an explanation of each and then look at how they have been applied, drawing in particular on the work by Colley (2012, 2014) as well as Bourdieu (2010).

Bourdieu (2010) suggests that doxa is the combination of both orthodox and heterodox; the common sense behind what is taken for granted. He suggests that it is 'an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably the real world and the thought world, they are accepted as self-evident (Bourdieu 2010:473).

It is the world of tacit, or unsaid, presuppositions that organise action within the field; the rules of the game. Consider a group of children getting together to play football in a local park. They will split into teams and both individually and collectively will tacitly play by a set of rules, none of which have been stated but are known. In itself this is quite straightforward but Bourdieu's theories are relational and the concept of doxa is no different. So, the players will try to change the rules or transform the game if they wish to gain an advantage. A player might want to start using their hands as well as their feet. Those that oppose the transformation will object and a struggle will ensue with both sides deploying their relative capitals to gain an advantage.

Deer (2008:120) highlights what Bourdieu has variously said through ethnographic studies that doxa is considered to be 'the natural order of traditional societies, where what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying, where the tradition is silent not least about itself as a tradition' (Bourdieu 1977, cited by Deer 2008:120). She quotes Bourdieu and says that 'it lies beyond any notion of enquiry' and it is linked to 'a primal state of innocence' and 'what cannot be said for lack of an available discourse' (Deer 2008:120). This underlines the idea that doxa is tacitly understood by those with sufficient accumulations of capitals and embodied in their habitus. As it is tacitly understood it is not routinely examined and thus remains unaltered.

Lying beyond any notion of enquiry means it is a 'taken for granted'. So, the closer the congruence between the social structures that produce the doxa and the agent's

schemas results in the system allowing and accepting the power relationships and the imposition of the cultural arbitrary. Therefore, it becomes the cornerstone of the field. The word 'cornerstone' suggests solidity and stability of structures within the field. So, in a sense the stability and structuring force it exerts becomes the primary way in which the field reproduces itself in the image of the social agents and their habitus. This reinforces the link between habitus and the field so they become mutually reinforcing. Those who do well (in terms of rewards and benefit) in the field draw upon their congruent habitus' and shared beliefs, which reinforces the field and thus do even better. The power within the field will always reside with those that can adapt and develop it as the prevailing conditions dictate. This form of symbolic power is not in a physical form rather it is the way that capitals are deployed through rituals and social relations. It is again a misrecognised form of their arbitrary dominance. This is a misrecognised form of power: a form of coercion to ensure that you continue to consume through the creation of desire for something. If you cannot 'consume' then you are clearly not in with the "in crowd" and thus a stratified field emerges.

Bourdieu (2010) argues that doxa occurs when we forget the limits that have given rise to unequal divisions in society. By this he suggests that the so called natural order is accepted (sometimes unconsciously) and the antecedents that led to it are either unknown, unrecognised or misrecognised by the dominant class. This is the basis of Deer's (2008:120) assertion that it cannot be 'said for the lack of available discourse'. This could be through no suitable platform or representation or that agents simply do not recognise it. The doxa is reinforced by agents acting in accord with the social

convention within the specific field. Within the Royal Navy, the doxa is completely embedded within the rank structure and it is considered dissent by those in position of power to question it. In extreme cases, they are punished and mild cases can result in additional duties and other punitive punishments. Furthermore, consistent low levels of dissent can have a detrimental effect on an individual's career within the Royal Navy as two respondents, Alan and Lesley, reported in their narratives (See Chapters Four and Five). These are arbitrarily imposed, unwritten conventions by the dominant class and therefore systematically misrecognised. By way of another example, it is taken for granted, and therefore an imposed cultural arbitrary, that in the UK educational system you must get five good GCSEs if you want to progress in education. This cultural arbitrary is imposed by the dominant class (the government and its agents) on the dominated. This is not questioned but becomes the subject of pedagogic action and labour as it is the 'must do' strategy if you want to play the game within the field and aspire to accumulate cultural capital. Thus, doxa is a form of symbolic violence.

Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) argue that doxa is the unquestioned innocent form of a system within a field. Orthodoxy aims to be the innocent form without entirely succeeding and is in opposition to heterodoxy. So, to use our previous example the doxa is the unquestioned acceptance of the need to get five good GCSEs. To question or to hold a different view is heterodoxy. And the tactics and strategies used to perpetuate the 'innocent form' of doxa is orthodoxy and only exists in the objective opposition to heterodoxy. When there are no different views or questioning of the doxa it is taken for granted and unquestioned. Thus, as Deer (2008:122) puts it 'in the

field, the doxa takes the form of a misrecognized unconditional allegiance to the rules of the game on the part of social agents with a similar habitus'. My analysis of the data suggests that the doxa pervades throughout the Royal Navy and people willingly submit to its influence largely without question. However, as the analysis shows the respondents are tacitly aware of it but the constraints of hierarchy and rank mean they choose where and how to express this (see Chapter Four and Five for particular examples and a more detailed analysis).

## **Illusio**

Illusio is derived from the word 'ludus' or game (Colley 2014:9) and not as is often mistakenly taken to mean illusion (see Moore 2004:449). But how does this feature in Bourdieu's work? For that we have to go back to the previous concepts of habitus, field and doxa for an explanation. Wacquant (1992:16) and Colley (2014:14-15) have provided us with a very concise explanation of this relationship.

Wacquant (1992:16) argues that habitus and field incorporate both agency and structure. The field is imbued with a doxa and the acceptance of the rules of the particular game within the field. As Colley (2012:324) suggests

'our socialized subjectivity reflects socially structured predispositions as well as structuring dispositions also plays a part. The game is competitive, since it concerns social positioning, and those who participate in the game use their habitus to deploy strategies to influence the game in pursuit of their own interests and goals. They can do so more or less successfully, depending on their initial socio-economic position; the volume of capital (economic, social and/or cultural) they bring to the field; and the degree of conscious fit between their habitus and the dominant doxa. It is this 'fit' to which Bourdieu refers to as illusio'



Colley echoes Wacquant's (1992) notion that, although rarely discussed, *illusio* is central to Bourdieu's thinking. She further suggests that '*illusio* is pivotal to understanding the articulation Bourdieu envisaged between the socialised subjectivity of *habitus* and the objective determinations of the field' (Colley 2012:324). So *illusio* refers to the extent to which agents enthusiastically engage in the game in order to close the gap between their *habitus* and that required by the dominant *doxa*; is it worth the effort and are the rewards offset by the required effort?

Let us return to our example of five good GCSEs as the *doxa*. Within the field (education in this case) there are many agents with multiple interests. For example, the head teacher will want to ensure that the results reflect the school favourably and will use tactics and rhetoric, almost certainly through misrecognition, to advance this. The teachers will want to ensure that students obtain the best results they can and will use specific strategies to achieve this. They will also be under pressure to achieve the cultural arbitrary and this becomes the dominant *doxa*. The students will want to gain five good GCSEs as it opens doors for them as they go forward to further education or training, which in itself is a taken for granted. They enthusiastically engage in it as it closes the gap or improves the fit between their current *habitus* and that of the dominant *doxa*. What is not always questioned (the heterodoxy) is, does the accumulation of these GCSEs actually prepare them for further education and the subtly different part of the field? So *illusio* is the energy and enthusiasm each of these agents is willing to put into the game in relation to the perceived benefits.

To contextualise the field within this research, recruits in phase 1 training will want to ensure they pass out and the training staff are under pressure to have high achievement rates without compromising overall quality, whilst maintaining and reproducing the RN habitus or dominant doxa. They will use similar tactics and rhetoric as well as threats such as the loss of privileges as seen in the recent television series called Royal Navy School (Channel 4, 2016) and described by Smith (2016) to impose the cultural arbitrary. Recruits will actively and enthusiastically engage with the doxa as it is taken for granted to progress they must complete phase one training. But some of the research respondents suggest in their narratives that on reflection their basic training didn't seem to bear any relationship to their role once they had left training and entered the Royal Navy. But this is not known to them at the time so with *illusio* they engage with phase 1 training to reap the perceived benefits of a Royal Navy career. Those that do not get it or cannot adapt to the demands of the cultural arbitrary will not progress (see chapter five for an example of this).

Colley (2012:16) argues, when the field is constant flux and change 'which transforms the established stakes in the game, [it is] also likely to disrupt the *illusio* of some subordinate players within it'. As the field starts to change a mismatch between it and our habitus can emerge if they cannot be reconciled. Our will and energy will be sapped as the dominant doxa exerts an invisible force of coercion and compliance. Thus, we will feel that we may have to compromise deep-seated beliefs and values of our primary habitus to even remain in the game let alone advance it.

Colley's (2012) paper on *illusio* within the public service sector is particularly relevant to this thesis as the social space within the Connexions service is similar to that of the Royal Navy. Both are public service arenas with their associated hierarchies and traditional power structures. As with the Royal Navy, they are both subject to governmental budget constraints and change and use misrecognition as a form of coercion to drive organisational change.

Colley (2012:5) contends that the changes in the Connexions service have

'thrown up ethical challenges for practitioners within the public services; that these challenges demand learning, but that learning to deal with them is very difficult in the current context [austerity measures]; and that emotional suffering can therefore arise, eroding the workforce and professional capacity within it'

Doxa and *illusio* are two important concepts that are the engine room within Bourdieu's theory of practice. They propel it along and are the primary drivers for success, or otherwise of agents within the various fields.

## **Distinction**

Bourdieu (1984, 2010) contends that those with high volumes of cultural capital i.e. non-financial assets such as education, taste in music and food etc., are more likely to be the arbiters of what constitutes taste or culture and thus decide what the prevailing doxa is. Bourdieu characterises this group as the bourgeois and the petit bourgeois. Those with lower volumes of capitals (Bourdieu characterises these as those with a popular aesthetic and a personal cultural dimension; we may classify them as toward

the working-class end of the spectrum) accept this domination as legitimate and normal and it becomes their habitus; the embodied form of behaviours and dispositions. They do not possess the necessary means to access the higher volumes of capitals. These necessary means could be in the form of a prevailing attitude ('it's not for the likes of us'), limited vocabulary (i.e. unable to express an opinion in the correct terms), financial restrictions (lack of disposable funds to access education opportunities), knowledge (specific knowledge that the organisation deems important) or other limitations (ways of speaking, dressing, and social interaction) as a result of their upbringing and habitus.

The arbiters of what constitutes culture or taste (the cultural arbitrary) are not necessarily constrained by the functional aesthetic i.e. the working-class expectation that an object fulfils a function (Bourdieu 1984:5), whereas the bourgeois aesthetic is one of legitimisation that demonstrates accumulated cultural capital. A simple outward demonstration of the cultural artefact does not always mean that the agent has the means to consume it. Freeing of this constraint allows the ruling class to decide what constitutes culture and annex the means of consuming it through misrecognition. When the working class have a particular view of taste or culture they are required to 'define it in terms of the dominant aesthetic of the ruling class' (Bourdieu 2010:33). They may not have sufficient volumes of capital in order to do this and thus they are excluded. Bourdieu (2010:33) provides examples from his research as to how this is expressed by the working class. He suggests that terms like 'haven't they got anything better to do with their time than photograph things like that' and

‘it’s beautiful, but you have to like it, it’s not my cup of tea’ (p33) are examples of how the working class accept this and exclude themselves. Bourdieu argues that acceptance of this domination is a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1984). But he also contends that education (or training in the case of the Royal Navy) is the most effective avenue for the working class to change their status and move from the functional aesthetic towards one of legitimisation i.e. one that sends out messages of status and demonstrates accumulations through cultural capital. However, what constitutes distinction is decided and legitimised by those with large accumulations of cultural and social capital. Therefore, for the working-class agent who is seeking to increase their social mobility, they could always be one step behind as the mechanisms of legitimisation change and evolve. In the methodology chapter I give a background to the individual respondents. However, all of the lived life data forms suggest that they came from the lower socio-economic class groupings. This would place them towards the functional aesthetic end of Bourdieu’s distinction continuum.

The Royal Navy is in itself a distinctive and homogenous but also a hierarchical organisation with a specific purpose and function. It is an organisation and emblematic of our national identity (Needle 2004). However, when put under scrutiny as I have done in chapter five, particularly through the lens of Bourdieu, there are social divisions and misrecognition through a symbolically violent organisation: those that are able to assimilate the culture and its opaque qualities achieve advancement. Those that don’t, fail to advance in a meritocracy based on division. The Royal Navy produces division through the rank structure using a criteria-based form of meritocracy.

Although collectively known as the Royal Navy, there is a very distinctive hierarchy that submits well to Bourdieusian examination. There are two distinct strata i.e. commissioned (ruling class) and non-commissioned officers, or other ranks, (working class) within the Royal Navy. These are based upon some fundamental differences that ultimately stem from primary habitus formation. Commissioned officers are selected using a different set of attributes to the non-commissioned or other ranks. These attributes include leadership and planning ability, detailed military service knowledge, values and essay writing skills. Included within these are expected behaviours, conduct and even forms of dress (RN AIB 2015). All these could be seen as an aesthetic of dominance and cultural legitimatisation as they will become the ruling class setting and determining the culture and taste of the organisation. They provide the stability and the structuring force (the dominant doxa) and thus the primary form in which the field reproduces itself in the image of the social agents and their habitus. Whereas the attributes for joining the Royal Navy as an 'other rank' do not include things such as leadership, planning and essay writing. There are different, arguably lower (as defined by the ruling class) expectations of behaviour, conduct and dress which are around a popular aesthetic and personal cultural domain. Therefore, it can be concluded using Bourdieu's (2010) notion of distinction that the Royal Navy considers the attributes that it is looking for in the ruling class as indicators of distinction and taste within the organisation.

The prevailing culture and what constitutes taste within the Royal Navy is defined and maintained by the ruling class in the form of the dominant doxa. Therefore, those in

the working class (other ranks) wanting to advance via promotion, and reap the associated benefit, will have to exhibit some of the attributes or indicators of culture and taste that the ruling class have defined. This may require them to develop, through traineeship and pedagogic labour (Wacquant 2013), their secondary habitus, that is, if their primary habitus did not provide the capitals or dispositions in sufficient volume in order to close the gap or improve the fit between the dominant doxa and their habitus. Those that are unable to achieve this will be excluded. Thus, the imposition of a cultural arbitrary that is obtained through pedagogic labour is a form of symbolic violence. As the cultural arbitrary is set and defined by the organisation we can conclude that the Royal Navy is a symbolically violent organisation.

However, I argue that the Royal Navy is humanistic and pragmatic in its business orientation (Willcoxson 2000), as it emphasises common values, teamwork and connection to the wider community. The attribute of empowerment in a limited form is an important one. There is limited empowerment and this is orientated towards the developing of attributes that the Royal Navy consider culturally desirable. For example, personnel are encouraged to seek courses, opportunities and experiences that develop the cultural attributes required for promotion or advancement. Those that go against these stand out as different or resistant to the prevailing or dominant doxa. But to resist the prevailing doxa and thus reject the imposition of the cultural arbitrary is to potentially disadvantage them.

This restricted form of empowerment can be related to Elias' (2000) concept of the royal mechanism and is central to his work on the development of the naval profession (Elias 2007). This concept was developed at length (Elias 2000) and then applied more succinctly to his later work (Elias 2007). His concept is centred on the way a monarch maintains power and control over their subjects and does not allow any particular group to rise and dominate, and thus possibly threaten his or her position. By keeping the competing parties in tension and favouring the group in a secondary power position, they maintain a power balance to their advantage.

The internal tensions and the struggle for career development are carefully managed by the Royal Navy as an organisation. Using Elias' (2007) analogy of a tug of war where a rope between two competing but evenly matched parties is continually in tension, the Royal Navy can very easily tip the balance in favour of one or the other. By recognising and rewarding certain attributes or acquisition of other specialist skills it creates an imbalance. In order to redress this the Royal Navy can provide other opportunities in order to tip the balance the other way. It takes very subtle acts by the Royal Navy to create division by tipping the balance in favour of one group thus creating the aspiration and drive for the other group to engage in further pedagogic labour to realise the benefits its achievement can bring. This approach of keeping personnel in tension and creating division is symbolically violent and can be systematically misrecognised. Thus, individuals, whilst engaged in the tug of war, do not recognise the symbolically violent nature of this relationship.



The way that the RN habitus exerts itself upon the agents in subtle ways is very evident within my analysis (see chapters Four and Five). This can be in the form of stories and myths or 'dits' (see glossary-p250), symbols of power such as badges of rank or uniform. An organisation such as the Royal Navy directly influences your physical work environment for its own ends or to exert domination and can to lead actions that further disadvantage an agent. There are examples of this within the respondents' narratives where individuals that have not conformed have quickly found themselves excluded and at a severe disadvantage.

## Chapter Summary

My main theoretical perspective in my research comes from Bourdieu whose relational theory of practice is very suitable for the area under investigation. The literature has shown how agents are shaped by their surroundings and experiences within the three-dimensional social space. As Bourdieu advocates, it is the empirical data and the insight that the researcher has that largely determines the way it is analysed. Thus, in this thesis I apply them to explain the development of the RN habitus.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus and dispositions and how it shapes, or structures agents' actions is highly relevant to this research. It is habitus and the dispositions that structure and influence antecedent, current and future actions. Wacquant (1989) subdivided this into primary and secondary habitus. The primary habitus is developed through familial and educational socialisations and experiences and the secondary is established through specific pedagogical labour. He argues that the primary habitus defines the level of excellence or guiding image of what that is and the secondary habitus is the hallmark of the effort or tension within its attainment. It is the proximity between primary and secondary habitus that indicate the amount of pedagogic labour required to achieve the intended outcome.

The concept of institutional habitus is important in this research as its components influence the process and pattern of choice making. This makes some choices unthinkable, others possible and yet others routine. An institution such as the Royal Navy is constituted by the individual habitus where each one has a history and

individual ethos. They join together and through an amalgam of structure and agency inform career choices that influence and mediate the institutional habitus. These individual habitus internalise the institutional ones which later becomes the RN habitus.

Capitals form an integral part of Bourdieu's theory of practice and cultural capital is seen as central to these. It is from this point that agents will derive ways of acting and behaving in social settings that serve to distinguish, and distance themselves, from others. This distance and by extension advantage is supplemented by the accumulation of other capitals with the better-known ones being social, linguistic and symbolic.

Capitals are divided into three sub-types, the embodied and objectified state which are corporeal or embodied, and the institutional form which is the externally imposed or arbitrary state. The institutional state is of particular significance as it has become the cultural arbitrary that determines what is culturally dominant within the Royal Navy. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that this domination and any pedagogic labour undertaken in the pursuit of institutionally defined cultural capital is a form of misrecognition and symbolic violence. To engage with it is to perpetuate divisions and dominance, to disengage with it is to disadvantage one's self. It is the creation of the division that drives personnel to aspire to attain the benefits a career can provide. The exposition on capitals and cultural capitals in particular is not necessarily about taste and aesthetic qualities but rather how it is used as a form of domination and how this

is systematically misrecognised and thus replicated. It is the context or field in which it is played that makes a significant difference to its impact.

In both real and semantic terms, the field within the Royal Navy setting is very clearly defined. On board ship, it is clear to see where the physical boundary is but the semantic or social boundaries are more complex as the various schemas and events are enacted. At a more formalised level Bourdieu refers to the field as the relationship between agents and the social space that they find themselves in. It is the differences that drive behaviour within that setting. It should not be seen as a series of compartments but a relational whole. When examining the field, we are urged to identify who holds the power, usually the holder of the institutional cultural arbitrary. We must then seek out the objective structure of relationships between positions occupied within the field. Finally, we should be examining how agents' habitus and dispositions help them manage within the field.

As agents manage to negotiate the field they must also be cognisant of the prevailing or dominant doxa and their *illusio* or commitment to the game, balanced by the perceived rewards or benefits. Doxa forms the tacit rules of the game and *illusio* is the commitment to it. Those that can quickly adapt to the doxa and are able to shape and mould the fit of their habitus through the deployment of capitals are going to gain an immediate advantage over those that are less able to. The taken for granted element of doxa occurs when the dominant class forget or misrecognise the conditions and limits that gave rise to it. Deer cites how Bourdieu (1977:165-167) contends that 'doxa

lies beyond any notion of enquiry and this suggests that it cannot be analysed and thus better understood' (Deer 2008:120-121). I argue that at the pre-reflexive stage i.e. in the normal day to day activities this may be true but at a reflexive approach, particularly by those that have a good understanding of the field or area under scrutiny, it can be analysed.

Whilst the doxa (Bourdieu 2010, Colley 2012, Deer 2008, Grenfell 2008) is the taken for granted and is often misrecognised, *illusio* (Colley 2014) is the ability (and enthusiasm) to play the game and use habitus, dispositions and capitals to strategically manage social positioning and maximise benefits. When an agent's habitus and capitals are not suited, or adapted to the field Colley contends that deep seated beliefs and values are brought into question. But in order to maintain their position these are often compromised.

Not all agents find themselves in situations that are relatively level or equal but they will pursue the accumulation of capitals based on what they have already accumulated. This could explain why some agents assimilate their role better than others. In the next chapter I outline the research methodology and the approach used to gain insight to the respondents' experiences upon joining the Royal Navy as well as the transitions experienced during their career.

## Chapter Three-Research Methodology

This chapter introduces the methodological framework I used in my research. The aim of the research was to provide new insights into the transitions RN personnel go through and as they take on new roles, how they understand and experience these and the development of a RN habitus. In order to produce the data for subsequent analysis a qualitative ethnographic approach was used. This empirical study highlighted the particular transitions that the respondents experienced and how these changes were realised and provided insight to some of the hidden aspects of this process.

There are many drivers for conducting social research and it should be done for a purpose (Clough & Nutbrown, 2002. Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2002, Robson, 2002, Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier 2013). Clough and Nutbrown (2002) argue that the methodology provides the articulation between the theoretical framework and the analysis. In other words, the methodology and data collection methods used should be complementary to the theoretical framework, the area under scrutiny and the subsequent analysis.

My research project was originally conceived as a case study but as the data emerged it was clear that the methodological approach to the relational nature of the area under scrutiny was better framed within a wider ethnographic paradigm. Burns (2000), Silverman (2010), Arthur et al (2012) and Robson (2002) all mention that with

qualitative designs that are generative and non-linear in their hypothesis, it is often the case that as the data emerges the methodological approaches can change. Moreover, an ethnographic approach provided a closer connection between the theoretical framework and the data collection and analysis, complementing my positioning within the research.

The ethnographic approach in research aims to represent the everyday, taken for granted realities of local communities and put them under scrutiny (Bhatti 2012:80).

There are numerous definitions and representations of what ethnography actually is but Bhatti provides us with a succinct description. She suggests that the

‘ethnographic gaze captures the reality as experienced by the participants and recorded by the researcher...it has enriched our understanding of how individuals and groups behave in various communities... and how they make sense of their everyday realities, what choices they make and how they present themselves... and it is represented by the researcher in a way that participants would recognise to be true’

(Bhatti 2012:80-81)

This research investigated how Royal Navy personnel experienced their transition from their civilian lives and how it was achieved using their personal accounts of what happened and the impact it had upon them. Although the accounts were not straightforward and could be seen as messy, this messiness is what creates the rich and varied aspects of everyday life.

The messiness and unpredictability of ethnographic research approaches means that

‘it is not uncommon for researchers to start with one set of questions but then end up describing a different set of findings which have a tenuous connection with the researchers original starting point’

(Bhatti 2012:81)

This was the case with this research. I set out with a research question that attempted to examine the transitions that Royal Navy instructors experienced when going from specialist to instructor and back again. The approach of the biographical narrative interview method for data collection, which is discussed later in this chapter, quickly revealed that there were rich and varied accounts of life in the RN. It was these accounts that led to the refocusing of the research question.

Bhatti (2012:81) suggests that criticism of researcher bias can be addressed by researchers ‘describing in detail how the data was collected and analysed and what role they adopted in the field’. She argues that the researcher’s own position, power, attributes and capacities are all factors in ethnographic research.

My previous experience within the military setting does place me at an advantage in terms of understanding, providing me with privileged insight into the day to day life of Royal Navy personnel. However, that could also be interpreted as perhaps being less critical and more accepting of observations and classifying them as not important or unusual. In my case a sense of attachment, belonging and identity might incline me to resist critiquing the mission and not wanting to be disloyal to my colleagues or



relinquishing my possible idealism of the services that furnished me with positive self-esteem and aspiration. Indeed, Robson (2002:186) suggests that researchers using the ethnographic approach risk becoming over involved and influencing or actually changing the context of the area under scrutiny and compromising the quality of the research. Like Bhatti (2012), he argues that it not possible to gain insight without entering into a relationship with the subject and this interaction should be borne in mind when analysing the data. Thus, the positioning of the researcher places them in a situation of trying to achieve a balance between distance and proximity. Tedder (2012:324) argues that what the interviewer brings to the interview in terms of insight and understanding can be just as significant as what the participants says. Being familiar with the context does on balance advantage the researcher and situated me in the best place to examine this particular area. Moreover, as I will elaborate in the next section, having an in-depth knowledge of shared cultural meanings of behaviours requires the researcher to gain an insider's perspective (Robson 2002:188). Robson also argues that those with both insider and outsider knowledge can identify anything that is 'anthropologically strange' (p188) in comparison with the wider society. In short, it is a 'means of bringing out into the open presuppositions about what you are seeing' (p188). This is an aspect explored further in the personal reflections section at the end of this chapter.

## **Ethnographic research methodology**

Ethnography is an approach to the study of people with the aim of 'describing their socio-cultural activities and patterns' (Burns 2000:393). Central to this approach is the

acceptance that human behaviour is contextualised and each act lies within the wider setting and is connected to values and beliefs. It is these relationships that need to be examined in relation to the wider context. Ethnography can be a way of providing insight to what is actually happening in a particular socio-cultural setting. It has wider applications as well. For example, it can be used to highlight contextual factors that might influence policy or changing working practices (e.g. Baker & Green 2007, Brayboy & Deyhle 2000, McNeil & Coppola 2006). Often ethnographic approaches involve activities such as participant observation, interviewing and qualitative analysis and interpretation of the patterns of behaviour (see Smith 1978, Rousseau & Friedman 2001, Klein & Myers 1999). However, as Green et al (2012:309) suggest, ethnography is not a series of predefined steps or fieldwork methods. Ethnographers share a common goal of learning from insiders what counts as cultural knowledge.

There are critics of this approach and the wider aspects of qualitative research in which it is situated. Burns (2000) and Silverman (2010) both suggest that some elements of these approaches are subjective and even impressionistic. However, the supposedly more rigorous quantitative designs are not without criticisms such as sample size, statistical analysis tools and techniques. But as Burns (2000:395) notes 'the more questionable and soft approach allows greater speculation and an arena for explanation.... much of ethnographic work is inductive because of its situational character'. This character means that examining a complex situation from a quantitative approach may make it difficult as it may not identify the nuances and subtle interactions that contribute to the whole.

Green et al (2012) present the argument that central to ethnography is a logic-in-use approach. This is what the researchers use in their actual practices rather than the reconstructed logic usually associated with quantitative approaches. Within the logic-in-use approach there are generally two perspectives regarding context, positivist and interpretivist. The positivist is concerned with encoding and separating out the context from the phenomenon. By doing this the many contextual elements are simply left out in an effort to control the variables. This reductionist approach suggests that the context is largely similar and fixed and this will not vary between each instance. It is the phenomena that are the variable and thus any conclusions it makes hold true across similar contexts. Arguably, this leads to less insight but a more generalisable outcome.

The interpretivist approach argues that the context and phenomena cannot be separated and sees the area under scrutiny in holistic terms. This can lead to complexity and is compounded by trying to represent and account for all the idiosyncratic behaviours in the data. This approach results in detailed but localised models of explanation that are more valid within the group rather than society at large. For Agar (2006:5) when people do things that we do not understand he calls these 'rich points'. When exploring these, he contends that after other explanations are discounted (mistake in the recounting, joking etc.) almost invariably it is a cultural concept we are trying to make sense of. To try and separate the phenomena from the context can be misleading and present an over-simplification of the problem. This does

present the researcher with a dilemma when embarking on ethnographical research, is there a middle ground between these two perspectives, can a researcher move purposively between the two perspectives? In short is there space for contextuality?

I argue that my positioning within this research means that I have sufficient insight to know when a context is an important element or not, its contextuality. For example, when examining a straightforward issue of naval discipline within the context of a training establishment I would be focusing on the phenomena of the individual's narrative surrounding it. However, if a rich point or incident occurred on board a submarine then the context is critical to the subsequent examination. Making a decision about the relative importance of the context is one that requires the researcher to continually review this perspective in relation to the data. This pragmatic approach sits comfortably within ethnographic investigation as ethnography does not propose a predefined approach and would support the notion of what works best for the area under study.

It must be stressed that this does not permit the ethnographer to approach research in a laissez-faire, un-principled manner. Burns (2000:396) advocates a process of progressive focussing. By this he argues that '[in the initial stages] adopting a stance of the naive observer...until considerable exploratory fieldwork has occurred...to provide [develop] guides on how to categorise and interpret the data'. This can place the researcher in a dilemma regarding their positioning within the research. As previously discussed I am very familiar with the context and the culture of the RN and this makes

adopting the stance of 'naive observer' quite challenging. In my case I do not feel it was fully realised. However, I was able to refocus in a principled and purposive way, conducting the interviews and subsequent analysis diligently in a conscious attempt to remain in a 'naive' state.

Green et al (2012:312) echo the need for researchers to bracket their own points of view and leave aside 'ethnocentrism' before beginning the process of categorisation and interpretation. By setting aside ethnocentrism and their own particular perspective and expectations and adopting the naive observer stance, they can start to gain insider's knowledge. If applied to my own positioning within this research I do have good insider knowledge but this prevented me from adopting a 'naive observer' stance. But the benefits of this insider knowledge mean that I can readily assimilate the subtleties of Royal Navy culture including their specific use of emic, or insider language (e.g. gollies and goffers as discussed later in this chapter). As discussed in the reflections part of this chapter, the use of emic language was a major influence on the quality, depth and richness of the data collected. This insider/outsider perspective allowed me as a researcher to use an approach that enables and supports contextuality.

There are other issues to consider when undertaking ethnographic study as Robson (2002) suggests.

1. Ethnographic approaches require detailed description analysis and interpretation of the culture. This requires an understanding of specialist concepts used when talking about that particular socio-cultural system.

2. For traditional ethnographies, the time taken to collect data is very extensive, sometimes extending over years. Some current approaches (sometimes referred to as mini-ethnographies) seek to cut this down drastically but this creates a tension with a requirement to develop an intimate understanding of the group.
3. Ethnographies have typically been written in a narrative, literacy style that may be unfamiliar to those with a social science background (conversely, this can be an advantage to those with an arts and humanities background). This may also be a disadvantage when reporting to some real-world audiences.
4. Researchers have been known to 'go native', resulting in them either discontinuing the study, or moving from the role of researcher to that of advocate.

(Adapted from Robson 2002:187)

I have ameliorated the effects of each of these difficulties in my research. For example, points one and two suggest immersion and detailed understanding of the culture. I have been working within the Royal Navy systems, and those of the wider military, for a considerable time. For much of the time working with the Royal Navy I was in the role of an academic, so I continually adopted an enquiring critical stance of the organisational. Point three suggests that the narrative style of representation may not be easily accessible or familiar to wider audiences. Whilst the data was collected using a narrative approach, the subsequent analysis and discussion are organised thematically using direct quotes from respondent's narratives. Point four was an interesting problem. In the initial stages of this research project I was very keen to ensure that the respondents' voice was represented to the wider RN. As the project developed and progressed, the representation of the respondents' voice within the analysis and the discussions became foregrounded.

As discussed above, there are no prescribed approaches to research design with ethnography. The pragmatic approach of what works best for the area under examination does have some guiding principles and general orientations as Burns (2000) suggests.

- The problem of understanding social action (Understanding and interpretation). The social world of a particular culture is socially constructed and the focus is on how actors collectively negotiate and achieve social order, understanding and working relationships.
- The emphasis on the process (process). Meanings and interpretations are not fixed entities and actors are in a state of becoming. Social meanings are generated and a dynamic (and changeable) social order is produced.
- Investigation of 'natural' settings (naturalism). In order to observe social phenomena, the researcher must observe participants in their natural settings rather than artificial ones. This presented difficulty as the data collection method was in the form of interview. However, the method used does use the ebb and flow of the respondent's narrative to frame follow up questions and explore themes.
- The study of the social phenomena in the context (holism). Actions and choices of agents are influenced by the wider social setting. Therefore, the researcher must situate respondent's actions within the wider context.
- The assumption that there are always multiple perspectives (Multiple perspectives). Ethnographers should attempt to comprehend social actions in terms of the actors' own terms of reference. This does lend itself to understanding 'hidden' aspects of the area under scrutiny. This is further enhanced by examining social relations such as the way participants legitimatise and justify the normality and unquestioned character of their situation

(Adapted from Burns 2000:396-398)

The multiple perspectives view is of particular interest and relevance to this study as it concerns itself with uncovering and studying social relations and does seek to uncover the hidden aspects of this. An ethnographer would focus on how each event is defined

and related to the actors' frames of reference and understanding. For example, one might ask why new entrants to the Royal Navy just accept the culture and engage in pedagogic labour to achieve it. Does the Royal Navy actually know and are able to articulate *how* their training programme achieve results? What are the 'un-stated' aims of Royal Navy recruit training? Each participant will have a perspective and view on this based upon their own experiences, interpretation and beliefs.

Ethnography is not without its problems. The approach I used for data collection provided a great deal of detail and information to be sifted, segmented and categorised. There was also the issue of interpretation. Burns argues that qualitative research in general is open to researcher bias and prejudice which may affect the data. This is particularly relevant as the data must go through the 'filter' of the researcher. This could lead to the researcher only recording what they feel is important or what they want to see. Also, any interpretations to do with emotional displays by participants are subjective. For example, my interpretation of happy may be different to someone else. If we are to take this final point, the researcher can add additional detail by stating what aspect of the respondent's behaviour made you interpret it as such. The overwhelming goal should be to recognise and where possible limit the bias associated with interpretation.

The researcher-respondent interaction will undoubtedly influence the data created. Again, the role of the researcher is to minimise the impact. Burns (2000) argues that researchers should try to interact with their respondents in a natural, unobtrusive and



non-threatening manner. The more obtrusive and controlling (e.g. survey about opinions) 'the greater is the likelihood that one will end up studying the effects of one's methods' (Burns 2000:416). But through an intimate knowledge of the setting the researcher can minimise the impact they have.

Often the issue of reliability and validity are raised as criticisms of qualitative research approaches. Burns (2000:417) offers insight to this area.

## **Reliability**

It is based on two key assumptions, repeatability (the study can be repeated) and that others would arrive at similar conclusions using the categories and procedures. But ethnographic research (through participant observation) records change in natural settings and these are ever changing, in short it is examining a dynamic context. Many instances cannot be repeated as the moment has gone. The use of interviewing to record the event after it has happened provides a record (for example written or recorded) and therefore does go some way to improving reliability. This coupled with a good relational link between the theoretical framework and the method of analysis results in an interpretation of events that are more reliable. This does require researchers to be sufficiently aware of the context, the theoretical framework and the form of analysis.

## **Validity**

Robson (2002) and Burns (2000) conceptualise validity in flexible research designs as the level to which the findings are really about what they say they are. Ethnography does make claim to high levels of internal validity due to the connection of the researcher with the subject either through participant observation and/or interviewing. Burns (2000) does explore the issue of the validity of what the informant reports during interviewing in terms of what they say and what to omit. But the use of a broad enough respondent sample and insight to the social setting does improve validity. External validity is dependent on the transferability of the phenomena to other similar types. As Burns (2000:420) succinctly puts it 'once typicality and a typicality of a phenomenon is established, bases for comparison then may be assumed and results translated for applicability across sites and disciplines'. For this research, there is potential applicability to the other two services (RAF and British Army) as they are structured in similar ways. Then there are the wider uniformed public services such as the police and fire service.

Ethnography is particularly suited to the type of enquiry that is seeking to gain insight to social-cultural activities that recognises the contextual and situates it within the wider setting. It positions the researcher as an integral part of the data collection and privileges insider knowledge and insight. This research project was situated within a unique setting that many researchers would not get the opportunity to experience. My positioning within the project was far from a disadvantage in terms of interpretation, understanding and cultural insight.

Lying at the heart of ethnography is a logic-in-use approach that attempts to reconcile the perspectives through contextuality. This is the selective and purposeful use, and application of, the context when interpreting the data. The decision of when to apply the contextual perspective comes from having an intimate knowledge of the area under scrutiny. Also, it recognises that there are multiple perspectives on phenomena so one must therefore initially adopt the position of a naive observer before beginning to focus on the detail to begin the generation of hypotheses. Again, intimate knowledge of the context is an important part of this process.

## **Ethics**

Ethical and confidentiality considerations are important aspects of this study. Ethical considerations include the conduct of the interviews and informing the participant of the nature of the research. Also, each participant had the right to withdraw at any point and, as there was no need for deception, the research was conducted in an open and honest way. As the data collection only involved interviewing there was no foreseeable reason why a participant would come to any physical harm. As they were recounting personal stories I could not predict the direction in which it went or what potential issues were raised. This could have resulted in the participant leaving the interview in an anxious or distressed state. I was prepared for that and was ready to sign post to sources of confidential help and support at HMS Raleigh (i.e. Chaplaincy, Counselling services,). This was not required as respondents noted in the unrecorded

cool down phase of the interview that they found the interviews enjoyable and a worthwhile activity, even 'cathartic' as one stated.

As Robson (2002) points out participants should be fully informed of the research aims and their consent gained and reaffirmed at each stage of the process. Each participant was given their transcript to view. Access and storage of the respondents' transcripts was restricted to those who have a legitimate interest in this project i.e. principle investigator and supervisors. In reference to a named person or ship made during the interview, a pseudonym or redaction was used in the transcript and subsequent analysis. The briefing and consent sheet (see appendix 1) explains what the study was about and what their commitment was in terms of the process and time requirements. Also, it includes a signature block that gives permission for the interview to be recorded, transcribed, used, and stored electronically.

Wengraf (2001:184-186) does not suggest any particular or specific ethical considerations associated with this type of approach. However, he does advise researchers to consult the guidance from the Oral History Society (OHS 2014).

Wengraf and the OHS do urge the researcher to be cognisant of the need for protecting the interests of the interviewee through the maintenance of confidentiality, informed consent, access to the transcripts and the final published research. These aspects are all covered within my ethical consent form.

The formal ethical protocol approval does not, and cannot possibly cover all eventualities. This is where the researcher's own values, beliefs, ontological and epistemological stance come to the fore. Whilst superficially I was a complete stranger conducting a series of interviews, I was also invading people's lives. I was asking them to share what is important to them in their life and disclose things to me that they would probably not normally do to a complete stranger. To me this was a responsibility I took seriously and endeavoured to respect and approached this research with care and diligence whilst conducting the interviews and subsequent analysis. I have explored this area in more depth within the personal reflections section at the end of this chapter.

### **The data collection method**

Tedder (2012) suggests that there has been a recent resurgence in biographical research. Certainly, there is a noticeable turn away from the grand histories towards the personal accounts. The recent centenary commemorations marking the start of World War 1 are an example of this. Personal histories, letters and other biographical accounts are centre stage of documentaries and other media outputs. Other writers such as Chamberlayne et al (2000) have also suggested that there is a 'biographical turn' in social research. Tedder (2012:40) contends this biographical turn can be linked to the growing popularity of personal disclosure through social media and the internet and an appetite for demonstrating emotions and interpersonal and intrapersonal conflicts.

Biographical methods do provide the means for exploring the personal in relation to the wider world and how these are conceptualised by the respondent. Tedder (2012:323) suggests that through biographical research 'the narration of a life story not only enables people to articulate their identity but also offers the possibility of learning from their life and the potential to effect change as a consequence'. The suggestion that the story you tell is one that is particularly important to you at that time has great appeal as it has notions of developing agency and can be linked to emancipatory forms of research (Chamberlayne et al 2000).

Some argue that biographical research is perceived as an easy thing to do (Wengraf 2001 & 2013, Tedder 2012, Chamberlayne et al 2000). It is simply getting people to tell you stories about themselves. However, eliciting personal accounts is only the beginning of the research. There are the complexities of categorisation and analysis of the huge amounts of data it can produce. Then there is the interpretation and presentation of the data for internal and external audiences, common points in most qualitative research designs but particularly important with biographical methods. Rickard (2001:2) argues that biographical methods are particularly adept at revealing and documenting hidden histories. Chamberlayne & King (2000:9) argue that these methods are also adept at 'exploring the subjective and cultural formations and tracing interconnections between the personal and social'. Biographical methods are particularly useful for gaining detailed insights into people's thoughts and perceptions.

The method chosen to collect the data was informed by Wengraf's (2001) Biographical Narrative Interviewing Method (BNIM) and based on the work done by Chamberlayne et al (2000). The BNIM method aims to explore the lived experience through the use of a biographical interview. Although Wengraf describes himself as being strategically a deductivist (2001:3), throughout his book there are clear indications that at an operational level his perspective is that of an inductivist i.e. using other data to confirm initial hypotheses. For the collection of the data, he initially proposes a very open approach that allows the respondent's story to emerge in a similar way to the naïve observer suggested by Burns (2000:396). The methods Wengraf (2001) proposes are similar to those used in therapy and counselling in that the interviewer provides a non-directive opportunity for the respondent to tell their story and doesn't pre-suppose the possible direction it will take. Chamberlayne et al (2000) and Wengraf (2000, 2001 & 2013) suggest that this approach can provide a unique and co-constructed interpretation of the respondent's experience that is much richer and illuminating than a pre-prepared set of interview questions could ever do. The second and third interviews see the interviewer become more directive seeking further detail on rich points. This is achieved by reflecting the respondent's words and phrases but crucially it still remains non-directive. It uses phrases like 'can you tell me more about that', 'do you have anything else to add to that?' At no time is the respondent specifically asked to justify or explain their actions or parts of their story.

Wengraf's (2001) BNIM method is an effective way of gaining insight into respondents lived life and experiences. But his method of analysis is quite cumbersome, resource

intensive and at times confusing resulting, in a sample size that is quite small. These points are reflected by Ross & Moore (2016), Snelling, (2005), Hesketh (2014) Moss & Mooney (2013). Each of them used his interview method but either adapted the BNIM method of analysis or negated it completely. Wengraf does tacitly acknowledge the difficulties of the BNIM method of analysis and has runs several workshops that explore the personal experiences of those that have attempted it.

For these reasons of resource-intensive and complexity, I chose to base my data collection method on Wengraf's interviewing technique but applied a thematic analysis of the data within the theoretical framework. In many ways, this is conceptually similar to Wengraf's (2001:3) approach where the initial analysis is carried out using a hypothetical-inductivist approach to see what the data suggests in a grounded theory tradition. Then as the theoretically-relevant data starts to emerge a hypothetical-deductivist stance is adopted. The relevant facts are then supported or refuted by the evidence in the data.

### **Outline of the Biographical Narrative Interview Method (BNIM) of data collection**

The BNIM method of data collection uses a three-stage interview process that allows an initial collection and classification of narrative data and then drills down into areas of specific interest or rich points, linked to the research question. Wengraf (2001) argues that it is important that the interviewer does not pre-empt or lead the stage one interview but allows the interviewee to tell their story in their own words and thus



it also gives voice to the participant. Moreover, the intention is that it allows the participants to express their views in a safe and confidential way.

All interviews were recorded digitally, reviewed and transcribed. The use of modern digital recording devices has reduced many of the issues traditionally associated with voice recording for interviews such as tape length, batteries, invasive presence of the device, storage and security etc. From the planned initial pilot interview, it was possible to develop ideas and refine lines of inquiry for the remaining interviews. All transcribed data were given to the participant for their consent for its inclusion in this project.

Robson (2002) and Hamilton & Corbett-Whittier (2013) suggest that other methods of data collection (structured interviews, written questionnaires etc.,) do not necessarily provide the rich points and varied data that an in-depth narrative interview can. This type of data collection is not without its drawbacks. It is time consuming in terms of arranging and conducting the interview, transcription and the subsequent analysis. Having discussed the methodological approach and outlined the data collection method I will now discuss the selection criteria and provide a brief biography of the individual respondents.

## **Selection criteria**

The personnel I invited to participate in this research formed a purposive sample (Robson 2002). The sample was exclusively drawn from personnel within the non-commission ranks.

The respondents met the following criteria

- Served or still serving
- In the Royal Navy and currently holding the rank of Leading Hand, Petty Officer, Chief Petty Officer or Warrant Officer class 2 or 1.
- Be willing to discuss their Royal Navy career with a focus on the transition from civilian to Royal Navy personnel.
- Be willing to participate in up to three, one-to-one recorded interviews of approximately 1 hour each

In the event that I would have too many participants I planned to use early-, mid- and late-career stage as the primary filter. So, a Leading Hand (see glossary-p251) would normally be in their early career and will typically have served 5-10 years. A Petty Officer (see glossary-p251) would normally have served between 11-15 years and a Chief Petty Officer and Warrant Officer (see glossary-p250 & 252) will be 16 years plus.

I decided to use one local Royal Navy training establishment, HMS Raleigh. The reasons for this are three-fold; it was close by and very familiar to myself; I have particularly good relationships with key individuals; and it minimised the effect of different establishment cultures. This final point needs more explanation as it could be seen as a

limitation as well. I have worked at many RN training establishments and each had its different culture, tempo and regimes. For example, HMS Raleigh is a Phase 1 and 2 training establishment, whereas HMS Collingwood covers Phases 2 and 3 as well as Junior and Senior Rate Command Courses (JRCC and SRCC), plus a great deal of Phase 2 and 3 Officer training. This inevitably leads to a difference in conduct and discipline as well as an overall different 'feel' to the establishment and the way it is run. HMS Sultan is situated very close to HMS Collingwood and again is different. HMS Sultan trains a number of the Phase 2 and 3 engineers, including aircraft technicians. This suggests that it is the purpose and function of the establishment that inevitably creates its individual and distinctive culture. You cannot exclude the effect that the leadership and management team has at these establishments. Invariably the senior leadership team will be drawn from the RN specialisations that are taught there. The effect is the character and 'feel' of each establishment will be replicated and thus will be different. But all this will be conducted within the wider values and beliefs that underpin the RN.

In line with Wengraf's (2001:97) suggestion that six to twelve respondents are a reasonable number for a single researcher to be able to engage in with in any real depth, I aimed for 8-10 respondents<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, Wengraf argues that whilst the sample size such as this is a statistically insignificant number it can lead to surprising diversity. This can stimulate further debate and open up other avenues of

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<sup>4</sup> These were all volunteers and the request went out through the training establishment's Daily Routine Orders (DROs) bulletin.

investigation. Thus, a purposive sample strategy such as this has advantages in terms of the inferences that can be drawn.

Often in research there are gatekeepers to be negotiated. These are key people (or policies and procedures) that can grant or deny access to researchers or forbid respondents from participating. Access to military personnel can be troublesome and at times impossible for some researchers. Quite why the military appears to restrict access to its personnel is not clearly stated other than the umbrella term of operationally sensitive or other objections linked to secrecy. Clearly, it is easier to say no than spend time accommodating outside researchers. The process of accommodation becomes significantly easier if the researcher is known, is familiar with the organisation and is relatively self-sufficient when conducting any research. For myself, I knew the main gatekeepers through previous employment and was able to engage their support when dealing with those that were unknown to me. This was achieved through informal conversations and face to face contact before any formal application for access to respondents was started. This informal-formal approach is mimicking the normal working practices within the Royal Navy I have experienced. This approach probably would not have been as straightforward if I did not have insider knowledge.

Security clearance and access to RN personnel was agreed with Director Flag Officer Sea Training (DFOST) and authority was delegated to Officer Commanding Training at HMS Raleigh (Commander (T)). This was subject to ethical approval by Plymouth

University (see Appendix 2). The initial contact for participants was made via a general call for volunteers that met the sample criteria via Daily Routine Orders using the 'information to participant's sheet' (see Appendix 3). Volunteers were invited to contact myself via email or phone to ask questions, in confidence, about the process and what it will entail. Although I was certain that it would never happen, I also had verbal assurances from Commander (T) that no person will be ordered to participate and all participants will be willing volunteers. Security considerations were a factor within this research. Due to my previous career in the military, both in uniform and as a civil servant, I am still bound by the Official Secrets Act. However, as part of the interview preamble, it was made clear to participants that the interview must not include reference to anything, anyone or actions that are classified above the level of 'UNCLASSIFIED'. In order to protect participants, this requirement was re-emphasised at the beginning of the second interview. If there were any unintentional breeches of security, I would not transcribe that part of recording and explanatory note or redaction will be inserted in the text instead. However, as discussed in the personal reflections section at the end of this chapter there were several respondents that discussed operationally sensitive material before and after the interview.

## **Respondent backgrounds**

After the interviews, each of the nine respondents were asked to complete the lived life data form as suggested by Wengraf (2001). (see Appendix 4 for an example). I also included a section on qualifications gained before joining, and during their time in the RN. Wengraf makes no mention of this but the educational experiences of the

individual are a key part of their habitus formation (Bourdieu 1977). From this I was able to build up an individual background to each participant. This data provided me with insight to their early life and some of the potential familial and educational influences on it. Each respondent provided different amounts of disclosure on this form with only one respondent failing to do this with no explanation. I have built up his background from his interview data and I acknowledge that this may not be as complete as the other respondents.

## **Roger**

Roger had recently separated from his wife and is a 43-year-old Chief Petty Officer Warfare Analyst Specialist (Submarines) and is watch navigator qualified. He had several family members in the Royal Navy and left school with 4 GCSEs. He joined the Royal Navy in 1989 at 16 years old as a Radar Operator but transferred to Warfare Analyst within Phase 1 of training. Due to the sensitive nature of his specialisation I have omitted or redacted a lot of details such as boat names, specific locations and the exact roles undertaken. He is currently an instructor at HMS Raleigh and has also undertaken additional civilian qualifications including training to be a teacher and studying for an Honours degree in Education Studies.

## **Oliver**

Oliver is serving in the Royal Navy as a 36-year-old PO PTI (Physical Training instructor). He joined in Feb 2002 aged 19 as a Stores Accountant (now Supply Chain). He served on several ships before changing specialisations to become a Royal Navy PTI in Aug 2005. He has other family members (3 Uncles) in each of the three services. He left

school with 5 GCSEs but not in Maths. Before joining the Royal Navy, he worked in IT as a website designer.

Oliver has served on several ships and shore establishments and was promoted relatively quickly to PO in Feb 2010. In 2012, he chose to specialise as an RI (Remedial instructor) and continues to work at HMS Raleigh supporting injured recruits and other staff recover from injuries so they can return to active service.

## **Yan**

Yan was the respondent that did not give me his lived life and background form so I have pieced it together from his transcript. Yan is slightly different to the other respondents because although he is at HMS Raleigh he is a member of the Royal Marines (RM). Whilst the Royal Marines are part of the Royal Navy there are many differences in terms of its ethos and perspective. It is generally accepted by Royal Marines and Royal Navy personnel that they are part of the same service but they do tend to distance themselves from each other. But as soon as there is an external threat they close ranks and face it together.

Yan joined the Royal Marines in 2001 at a young age (approximately 18 years old) and following training, became a GD (General Duties or 'Grav') Marine. The GD branch is where most young Royal Marines develop their general soldiering skills before going on to a specialisation. He transferred to the PTI branch in 2008 and is currently a Sergeant PTI at HMS Raleigh

## **Alan**

Alan is still serving in the Royal Navy as a 49-year-old Leading Hand (LH) in the specialisation of radar operator with a sub-specialisation of Navigator's Yeoman. He left school with 'O' levels in Electronics, Physics and Maths. During his narrative, he expressed a strong desire to become an Engineer specialising in Electrical or Electronics. In 1986 at the age of 17 he joined the Royal Navy originally as a Seaman Operator which is now within the Warfare specialisation. His father and brother in law have both served in the Royal Navy.

He has served on many ships and as such has a very broad level of experience. This is why he is currently serving as a Phase 1 instructor at HMS Raleigh even though he is a LH; instructing phase 1 is normally undertaken by experienced POs and above.

## **Lesley**

Lesley is a 43-year-old Petty Officer (PO) Operator Mechanic (OM) above water warfare tactical specialist (Radar Plotter and Data Links). She joined the Royal Navy in 1994 at the age of 20. She is due to leave the Royal Navy very soon. She is currently employed as a phase 1 instructor at HMS Raleigh. She has had a variety of drafts and has worked with both the Royal Navy on board a variety of ships and shore based establishments, and the Royal Marines (RM). The latter was on an operational tour of Afghanistan as part of the female engagement team (FET). Lesley also worked with the Tri-Service Operational and Training Advisory Group (Cultural Advisor). This unit prepares troops for deployment to the various theatre of operations. Her educational



attainment is 5 GCSEs at grade C including English and a Science but does not include Maths. There are no other members of her family serving in the services. In 2011, she went on operational tours in Afghanistan and served alongside Yan. In 2013, she was drafted to HMS Raleigh as a Phase 1 instructor.

## **Norman**

Norman recently left the Royal Navy (2013) as a CPO OM-Above Water Warfare specialist. He is now 52 years old and joined the Royal Navy when he was 22 in the Gunnery branch and transferred to the Operator Maintainer (OM) specialisation in 1994. He had to wait a few months to join the Royal Navy as he was overweight. (although he describes it as being under-tall). There are other members of his family in the Royal Navy and he left school with two 'O' levels and one Scottish Higher.

He was brought up in a rural community in southern Scotland with what he described as limited job prospects. He was quite young when his father died unexpectedly. He was raised by his mother and his elder brothers who went on to join the Royal Navy. In 2013 after completing a mentoring of young learners' course he left the Royal Navy and he is currently working as a pupil mentor in a local community college.

## **Andrew**

Andrew is still serving in the Royal Navy as a 50-year-old Chief Petty Officer (CPO) submariner. He joined the Royal Navy in 1984 straight from school and initially wanted to become a clearance diver. There were no vacancies for this specialisation so he went straight to submarines. He has served on several submarines as part of a drafting

cycle, which is, moving from one boat to another and back to the same one. He had a grandfather in the RAF during World War Two. He left school with 3 'O' levels and no maths.

Andrew has extended his career past the normal 22-year point. This is not something routinely done and is usually reserved for those with deep specialist knowledge or in areas where there is a shortage of personnel. His current role is teaching at a submarine school and his specialisation is very much based in mathematics. Unusually, this is the first formal teaching or instructing role he has undertaken in his career.

Again, like Roger, due to the sensitive nature of his specialisation, I have omitted or redacted details such as boat names, specific locations and the exact roles undertaken. He described many of his drafts as very rewarding but one particularly long one ultimately cost him his marriage. After several other operational drafts, he moved to a submarine school in 2014 as an instructor.

## **Victor**

Victor, 44, has recently left the Royal Navy as a CPO (Chief Petty Officer) after serving for 24 years in the specialisation of Logistics Supply Chain (known colloquially in the Royal Navy as 'Jack Dusty'-see glossary-p250). Within Victor's family there is a history of serving in the British Armed Forces. His Father served in the Army and his Grandfather served during World War two in the Royal Navy. Victor described himself variously as '*[a] person of ethnic background*', '*Ethnic Kid*' (Victor line 41) but doesn't actually say what his ethnicity is. Victor joined the Royal Navy in 1989 at the age of sixteen and two months. He left school with 2 grade C GCSEs in English and History.

He was promoted to LH (Leading Hand or Killick-the Royal Navy equivalent of Corporal) in June 1998 and awarded the MBE in the operational honours list for services in Sierra Leone. This is quite an achievement for someone of his rank and point in his career. In March 2011, he joined HMS Raleigh as a phase 1 Divisional CPO. Victor left the Royal Navy in 2014 to take up a role as a relief teacher at a local academy.

## **Yvette**

Yvette is still serving in the Royal Navy as a 34-year-old Petty Officer (PO) in the specialisation of Meteorologist and Oceanographer (Met Occ). She left school with 3 A levels and joined the Royal Navy in 2002 at the age of 18. She had a very close family friend in the Royal Navy. The close family friend was a Naval Nurse and had always said since Yvette was very young *'that [she] could join the navy and she used to show me her photos'* (Yvette, lines 870-871).

Yvette has been drafted mainly to Fleet Air Arm shore bases. She has also completed three sea drafts on board RFA ARGUS, HMS ILLUSTRIOUS and HMS ARK ROYAL. After maternity leave she returned to RNAS Culdrose. In 2011, she was drafted to HMS Raleigh and later that year undertook the SRCC (see glossary-p251) and was promoted to PO. In 2012 completed the Certificate of Education teacher training course and in 2013 completed her PO Qualifying course. In 2014, she was drafted to FOST (see glossary-p250) as a phase 2 instructor.

## **Pilot study**

The pilot study with Victor was invaluable in many ways and enabled me to modify the approach for the remaining interviews. It was conducted at the respondent's own house when his wife and young child were there. We used his kitchen and his wife and child were being quite hospitable but this made me quite anxious. I needed to get on with the interview so I could reduce the impact on their busy lives but also, I did not want to appear to be rude and not engage with them. This resulted in the interview process going on for several hours. Often there would be interruptions and distractions as normal daily life continued. Anecdotally, it highlights the central role the kitchen has in family life. On reflection, I would not choose to conduct it in a family home for reasons to do with time but more importantly distractions can interrupt the maintenance of the gestalt. But if this was unavoidable, I would suggest that we did it when we would not be disturbed. The pilot respondent was very generous and offered me gifts of homebrewed beer and invited me to tasting sessions. This arose as a result of the rapport building phase where we chatted about recent events and hobbies. As an ex-member of the military I saw this as typical bonding behaviour which I have experienced on many occasions outside of any research. As such, I do not consider it was as a direct result of the interview process. I also refined the interview process itself and how to use the various recording sheets and devices. This resulted in a very smooth and non-invasive process in the subsequent interviews.

## **The BNIM process**

This section explains the interviewing process adopted. I show the thinking behind some of the practical decisions I took when undertaking this research. It draws upon my own experiences of the process from pilot to the final interview. Where appropriate I have referred back to Wengraf's (2001) work on the BNIM approach. I have however, adapted the BNIM approach and therefore my data collection was influenced by BNIM rather than adhering to it rigidly.

BNIM is centred on the 'uninterrupted flow' of narrative in which the interviewer and interviewee create a space in which the story is allowed to flow (Wengraf 2001) and a point made by Jones (2003). The mere presence of the interviewer means that the story, with its twists and turns, emphasis, and tempo is specific to that particular person and space in time. Therefore, the interviewer does have an influence on the data creation but by skilful use of questioning techniques, active listening and allowing their story to be told by them in their own time this is minimised. This whole process is conducted in a non-directive, facilitative style.

## **The stages of BNIM**

The BNIM method uses three interviews as part of the data creation. The first is an informant style and the last is more of a respondent-type as described by Robson (2002). The informant-type interviews prime concern is for the respondent's perceptions or views, or in this case experiences. The latter respondent-type of

interview is where the interviewer's intention is to remain in control and it is necessary to have more structure (Robson 2002:271).

Each BNIM interview has a specific purpose and elicits greater detail but it relies upon, where possible, maintaining the gestalt which the whole process is premised on.

Wengraf (2001:69) maintains that the 'observation of free behaviour would reveal to the researcher the current structuring principle (gestalt) of all the particular behaviours being expressed'. By this, he is suggesting that the removal of external constrained behaviour results in the internal dialogue being expressed more easily. So, gestalt is the flow and pattern of interconnected meaning for the individual and the open-ended nature of the BNIM process allows this to be foregrounded as not necessarily being driven by an explicit research agenda. Holloway & Jefferson's (2000:34) definition of gestalt is particularly appropriate 'a whole which is more than the sum of its parts, an order or hidden agenda informing each person's life'. Within the narrative gestalt, events in the story are likely to be linked with one leading to another but not necessarily in chronological order but in a way that is purposeful or meaningful to the story teller.

The interviewer must remain conscious of this and respond accordingly. For example, if during the initial stages the interviewer starts to direct the interview, interrupts or changes the subject, the gestalt is lost and it then becomes a different agenda which may not be that of the respondent. If the interviewer seeks clarification but uses a different word or phrase or in a different order to how the respondent revealed it,

again, the gestalt could be broken. However, if the interviewer is fully conversant with, and cognisant of, the culture and language used within the respondent's culture then the number of interruptions could conceivably be reduced. Additionally, if the interviewer can be confident in their own use of the respondent's emic language it can create a deeper and authentic rapport and thus the interview data can be richer and discussed in more depth.

This is part of reducing and minimalizing the directive influence the interviewer has on the data creation. But it must be acknowledged that the very presence of the interviewer means that the narrative will be unique. Arguably, if the same question were to be asked by the same person the very next day, the story may very well be different in its detail but the overall themes will probably be similar.

From a practical perspective, the interview requires very careful attention to active listening and utilises both verbal and non-verbal prompts as well appropriate responses to the respondent's words and gestures. Interviewing does demand different skills to that of an ordinary conversation. However, the skill of interviewing is to enable the respondent to talk freely and openly (Robson 2002:274). The conduct of the interview should feel like a very relaxed conversation between two people.

However, this is very difficult to achieve if they have only just met and do not know anything about each other. Robson (2002:274) suggests that your own behaviour has a major influence on their willingness to participate. He suggests that the interviewer should

- Listen more than they speak
- Put questions in a straightforward, clear and non-threatening way
- Eliminate cues which lead respondents to respond in a particular way
- Enjoy it (or at least look as though you do)

I would also add that the interviewer should be aware of the rituals and clichés that exist within the respondent's culture and context. This awareness can be very difficult to acquire for someone who has not experienced the culture. This does underline the importance of the researcher's knowledge of the area under scrutiny when using an ethnographic approach to research. For example, in the Royal Navy there is an accepted (but not universal) form of gift and exchange when meeting people. The person requiring the information i.e. the interviewer, usually brings a small 'gift' with them to acknowledge the effort that the other person has gone to. This 'gift' could be in the form of biscuits to have with a 'wet' (Royal Navy slang for a drink, usually tea or coffee) and this forms part of the rapport building. This is not dissimilar to many cultures around the world but in the Royal Navy it has been my experience that it is quite an overt practice. So, to be aware of it, and pre-empting it, is an important part of interviewing in this particular Royal Navy setting.

Robson (2002:275) suggests that questions involving jargon should be avoided. I would argue that if both parties are familiar with and use the jargon frequently that this actually builds rapport and creates a more genuine engagement in the data creation. My proximity and insider knowledge of the Royal Navy was particularly important as I was able to use emic language which created rapport and a greater degree of trust. For example, Roger was using terms to describe a situation on a submarine without having



to provide detailed background to it. This resulted in a better flow in his story and a richer discussion. This was typical of all the interviews and it allowed the respondents to communicate in their language. Where the difficulty arises is in the interpretation of the words and phrases for an external audience as Green et al (2012) and Robson (2002) suggest. For example, respondents talked of 'Gollies', 'Greenies' 'Growlers' and 'Goffers'. In the context of the interview these terms made perfect sense to me and I followed the story without a second thought. But to an interviewer unfamiliar with the Royal Navy culture they would probably have to seek clarification or at least stop listening to try and make sense of the words. The word 'Gollie' is Royal Naval slang for Electronic Warfare specialist. A 'Greenie' is a general term for an electrician and a 'growler' is slang for a porkpie. Although it is sometimes known as a 'NAAFI landmine'. The word 'Goffer' in Royal Naval slang refers to a big wave usually breaking over the ship. However, within the Royal Marine setting (remember the RM are also part of the Royal Navy) a 'goffer' is a non-alcoholic drink as well as a big wave (or bucket of water if land-based) that usually leads to a soaking or to be 'goffered' 'is to be punched really hard. So, when asked in an RM mess if you want a 'Goffer' the outcome is usually a drink. If followed by 'sandy bottoms' that is indeed an honour as you have been invited to finish it until you can see the sandy bottom. However, if asked by a RM PTI within the Gymnasium it could be swiftly accompanied by a bucket of water over the head or a swift punch. So, it is important to be up to speed with the specifics of the Royal Navy culture and 'slanguage', or 'Jackspeak' (Jolly 1989). It also underlines how important linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1997 & 2010) is and how this is embedded in one's own habitus.

Once the interview has commenced the interviewer must resist the temptation to interrupt or attempt to fill the empty spaces in a directive way. For example, often a respondent will pause to think, perhaps recount a specific date or person and create an empty space that may be uncomfortably long. There is a temptation for the interviewer to step in and direct the respondent suggesting “well it’s not that important” or make a suggestion that moves the interview along. This then breaks the gestalt (the links in the respondent’s narrative) and the respondent’s story may change or be influenced by the interruption. There are ways of keeping the story moving along without being directive. Wengraf (2001) makes some suggestions to help in situations such as these. For example, a respondent may say “where would you like me to start?” the interviewer should respond in a non-directive way with “start wherever you want to”. Invariably this is followed by the respondent relaxing and the interview moves forward. (See Appendix 5 for examples of Wengraf’s (2001) non-directive ques).

If the interview is interrupted, as happened with several of my respondents, I very quickly made some notes to describe what we talking about (the antecedent) so we could pick up when the interruption was over. Almost invariably when the interview resumed the respondent would say ‘where were we?’ I read out my notes and the respondent could quickly pick up the thread and the impact on the gestalt was minimised.

There is also a possibility of the interviewer imposing their own view or experience on the interview. Again, this should be avoided as it is the respondent’s story that is

important. The interviewer may feel that by telling the respondent that they have had a similar experience will show empathy and that collective experience will somehow enrich the interview. Invariably it will break the gestalt and the respondent will start to tell the story that they feel the interviewer wants to hear and this is not necessarily the narrative that is important to them.

Wengraf (2001) advocates the use of three interviews in the BNIM process. As discussed earlier my approach was influenced by his method and I have largely followed his suggested approach. The first interview (usually referred to as Part 1a and informant in nature) uses a **Single Question that Induces a Narrative or SQIN** (see appendix 6 for the SQIN used in this research design). It is designed in order to emphasise what is important to them personally not what they feel a researcher may want to hear. The language is based around some of the nested loops of syntax used within Neuro Linguistic Programme (Bandler & Grinder 1990) which help people focus on what is being asked. The SQIN I used was developed from the examples provided by Wengraf (2001)

The SQIN is deliberately vague so as to minimize the influence and agenda the interviewer has on the process. In this part, the respondent is invited to provide a narrative around a particular period of their life or a particular area that is important to them. The wider and more general the better as it allows the respondent to decide what is important and particular to them rather than follow any imposed research agenda. The mere fact that a research agenda has brought the interviewer and the

respondent together in the first place cannot go unnoticed. However, if done well this is easily subsumed into the relationship and the third space is created in which the narrative is revealed.

During the first interview, which is recorded, the interviewer makes note of any interesting points raised by the respondent. Rather than interrupt the gestalt these are written down with a view to following up in the second interview. The reason they are 'interesting' is down to the interviewer's perspective and is based upon the research aim; the way and manner in which the respondent raises the point or just an intuitive hunch. This is why active listening and taking note of the verbal and non-verbal cues is important.

From a practical perspective Wengraf (2001) suggests using a sheet he calls a SHEIOT (**S**ituation, **H**appening, **E**vent, **I**ncident, **O**ccasion/**O**ccurrence, **T**ime). An example is in appendix 7. Each of these letters could refer to part of the story that is of interest and therefore to be followed up in the second interview. There is no way of predicting the content of, or where the story takes you. But by placing the notes under the appropriate titles on the SHEIOT, it helps the interviewer to situate and develop narrative pointed questions for the second interview that use the respondent's words in the order they were raised. The overall aim is to maintain the flow of the story and be as unobtrusive as possible.

The second interview (usually referred to as part 1b) revisits the interesting points to gain greater or deeper insight. The key to this second interview is to take every step to

maintain the gestalt created by the respondent. Wengraf (2001) suggests that the second interview should take place as soon as possible after the part 1a interview. Practically this can be facilitated in such a way as to appear as a natural break and as a way of keeping the narrative alive and flowing whilst recognising that the process can be mentally draining on the respondent. A break is an opportunity for respondents to refresh and even become reinvigorated. The break is down to the practicalities of time, situation and other similar constraints. Whilst Wengraf (2001) does not specify an exact time period the longer the gap the greater the difficulty the respondent may have in picking up the narrative.

During the break the interviewer looks at the 'interesting' points raised and formulates non-directive questions around them with an aim to gain a deeper understanding of them. Again, in order to maintain the gestalt, they must be asked in the same order they were revealed and use the words or phrases the respondent uses. That way the respondent can centre themselves and pick up their narrative easily. To use the interviewer's interpretation or corrected words and phrases would break the gestalt and it would become a new narrative.

After these two interviews Wengraf (2001) suggests that the researcher should spend some time (he suggests 45mins to 1 hour) just writing about the interview, what they noticed and what they found interesting or specific (Appendix 9 is an example of this). In essence it is adding another dimension to the transcript. In this written piece, the researcher can lay down questions for future consideration, postulate theories, and

ask reflective questions. In doing so they are creating their own gestalt and even the order they come out in can help the researcher position themselves in terms of what they are seeing as particularly noteworthy, comparing that with the research aims and method. For example, the notes may be about the way a respondent is sitting or the way they are gesticulating. This may normally be seen as part of the overall conversation or narrative and may not be even noticed. However, when an individual becomes animated, and coupled with other non-verbal clues, the interviewer can quickly see how much this particular part of their story meant to them. As the transcript and the recording only form two out three parts of the interview (the third being the visual) this important aspect of the narrative could be lost.

The third interview (usually and confusingly referred to as part 2) is, according to Wengraf (2001), not always required. If there is sufficient data within the first two interviews then there is little point following this up with yet more interviews (see also Robson, 2002). Wengraf (2001) suggests that if the part 2 interview is used it can bring any theoretical framework questions into the research if required. The part 2 interview becomes more structured and is led by the interviewer. It follows the research agenda and is considered a respondent interview (Robson 2002:271). This can still be accomplished in the third space by careful use of question phrasing and in the order in which the respondent raised the points in parts 1a and 1b interviews. For example, the respondent may have used a phrase that suggests that a particular part of the theoretical framework is in evidence. The interviewer can frame a question using the respondent's words and phrases to bring them to the point in the narrative and then

seek further clarification or understanding. This maintains the gestalt and echoes the same reflective techniques used in therapy and counselling.

There is the potential for difficulties with Part 2 interviews with regard to the balance between the research agenda and theoretical framework and remaining faithful to the co-created third space approach. The pursuit of the research, obtaining the data you might need, maintaining the gestalt that has been created with the respondent in the third space could lead to tension.

Looking back over the three parts of the BNIM method it soon became apparent that the researcher must immerse themselves within the respondents' stories. The immersion is supplemented with what Wengraf (2001) refers to as 'lived life' form (see Appendix 4 for an example of this). This is a relatively straightforward chronological history of the significant events of the participant's life between two defined points. In this research, it is from when they joined the Royal Navy to the present. Within this form, each respondent chronicles all the events that they feel are significant. Thus, you get details of what is felt important as it is self-referenced and disclosed and does not follow a prescribed agenda. It must also be borne in mind that the research interview question does ask the respondent to describe all the important things that have happened to them since joining the Royal Navy. The fact that some did mention, when asked for clarification, the influence that family members had on their decision to join the Royal Navy shows that the familial influence was still an important aspect of decision making.

## **Conduct of the interviews**

As soon as I received contact from a participant I started to keep detailed records including multiple contact methods, details of their work location and nicknames.

Everyone in the sample had an email account and I sent off an acknowledgment with a request for them to let me know they had received it. Royal Navy personnel are quite transient in their work role and get moved about the establishment to cover for absences and other manning shortfalls. All these details are vital when trying to contact someone to make arrangements for interviews. All details were stored securely as described within the ethical approval application document. This methodical approach has been invaluable as I have managed to maintain contact with participants despite them making several moves in locations within HMS Raleigh. Additionally, it has been my experience so far that Royal Navy personnel are quite sociable and prefer face to face or telephone communication rather than email or letter. So, where possible I spoke with them to make arrangements etc. In appendix 8 I provided a detailed explanation of how the interview was conducted with one of the respondents (Lesley) and the theoretical perspectives behind the decisions taken at each stage.



## **Personal reflections on the methodology and the impact on myself as a researcher**

In this section I highlight and reflect upon some of the dilemmas, difficulties and surprises that arose using the BNIM data collection. I finish by relating the impact that the undertaking of this research has had on myself as an early career researcher using the main theoretical concepts outlined in the previous chapter.

One thing that struck me from a very early stage was the willingness of respondents to tell a complete stranger their story, a story which reveals quite personal details and information. But through the particular phrasing of the invite letter and use of emic language in the setting up of the interview I was not perceived as a complete stranger, more somebody they did not yet know and to use their parlance I was “friendly forces”. This has raised additional ethical considerations. I conducted the research in line with the ethical approval documentation but that did have limitations in terms of scope and possibilities. For example, I very quickly introduced myself to a respondent and within a few minutes they were discussing what could be referred to as operationally sensitive material. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, I am still bound by the Official Secrets Act and would not reveal the content of the discussion. However, the candid nature of the discussion at such an early stage of the rapport building stage did surprise me. I do believe that it was due to my background and ability to quickly assimilate the Royal Navy context which has enabled this.

This widens the scope of what is actually involved in the ethics of research. To me the formal ethical approval process should have been straightforward. After all I was simply conducting a series of interviews. But the nature and type of objections raised at the approval stage by the ethics committee demonstrated perhaps how much inside knowledge I did have and how some people are very unfamiliar about the way military organisations work. One objection perhaps typified this for me. The committee wanted assurances that respondents would not be ordered to participate in the research. To me this demonstrated a woeful lack of knowledge as to how the Royal Navy works and perhaps of the perception that Royal Navy personnel blindly follow orders. I had assumed that members of the committee were more informed about the military even though this was not expressed explicitly within my initial ethical approval document. From my insider's perspective, I knew that nobody would be ordered to participate and more importantly I would not want to interview somebody who is possibly attending under duress. The ethical approval process cannot account for the wider ethical dilemmas of conducting participant research. From an ontological perspective, the mere fact that I am in the room asking questions has an impact on the story. This has to be acknowledged but how to minimise the impact on the narrative is not easy to resolve. Whilst I feel that I have minimised the impact, it is only in a self-referenced form.

Another aspect of this wider ethical dilemma was that of researcher positionality. Burns (2000), Robson (2002) and Green et al (2012) all suggest that in ethnographical approaches, detailed knowledge and access to the insider's perspective are key

elements. Robson (2002:187) particularly raises the possibility of the researcher going native or becoming an advocate. Becoming an advocate was the case for me as I cared about the military and the Royal Navy. As I set out on this research project, I had a clear intention that I should somehow repay the Royal Navy for the research opportunity they had given me. This was also wrapped up in the career opportunities they had provided me since I started working for them in 2001. I wanted to provide some useful insights that they could use to further improve the way personnel are developed as part of their career. However, I was not prepared for the personal impact that close and critical scrutiny of the Royal Navy would reveal. My initial thoughts and findings were not particularly critical and I tended to see things in terms of that is just the way it is without questioning why that might be.

This was an example of how my habitus, the embodiment of capitals, had perhaps already categorised the perceptions, appreciations and actions in line with a form of practical logic (Bourdieu 1990). So, what looked to me as the norm was arranged in a practical taxonomy that supports meaning making and coherence. Bourdieu (1977:97) also contends that social researchers can see data in terms of cognition detached from practice. This type of theoretical logic 'forgets that these instruments of cognition fulfil functions other than those of pure cognition'. I argue that practice is operationalised cognition and is informed through the structured-structuring-structure process of habitus formation. Thus, there is a tension between myself the researcher pursuing theoretical logic and my habitus interpreting the data as practical logic. Through supervision and discussions with peers and colleagues, I was able to reconcile this

tension and start to develop a more detached and critical stance and perspective of Royal Navy culture and life. But this was an uncomfortable process and at times caused distress. I believe this was due to an enduring sense of belonging to the military in the wider sense and perhaps an emotional attachment to the Royal Navy in particular. This was quite unexpected especially as I did not join the Royal Navy.

I have undoubtedly changed and developed as a result of undertaking this research. Using Bourdieusian terminology and theories of Wacquant, through traineeship I have developed a secondary habitus. My role as an academic was fixed with the structured and structuring experiences of teacher education and working class aesthetic of functionality. However, through structured experiences such as military service, working with the Royal Navy and the structuring experiences with the support of my supervisors, I have developed structure. As Bourdieu (1990) would suggest my world is no longer random and un-patterned, I am developing coherence and a set of dispositions that will better place me within the field of academic study. Returning to notions of traineeship, the cognitive and to a lesser extent connotative components have been developed in a systematic way through dialogue and study. Like the respondents, my affective component has taken time to reach its current position. Undoubtedly, there has been a step change in my perspective as an academic, as a programme leader and within my teaching. I have developed a greater understanding of the field that I currently inhabit. And my disposition toward 'research' is still developing. Perhaps this is attributable to the institutional form of what constitutes cultural capital and my disposition towards engaging in the pedagogical labour to

achieve it. Certainly, the notion of habitus clivé is being enacted. There are times during this research that there is a loss of coherent self and a yearning to return to the more established habitus. But it is accepted that can never happen as the imagined habitus will not be the reality. But in the same way I have developed my habitus repeatedly throughout my working life, I will engage in pedagogical labour because I can see the relative benefits in terms of career, status and prestige. So even at a personal level a Bourdieusian approach to analysis has capacity to help develop a more coherent sense of self.

## **Chapter Four-Navigating the Seas: the development of the Royal Navy habitus**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter I analyse the participants' responses through the lenses of the ideas and concepts developed in the theoretical framework chapter. I have not used all the participants' responses but included those that are typical or specific in order to develop my argument.

The three states of cultural capital (embodied, objectified and institutional states) and theory of practice including doxa, Illusio and symbolic violence (discussed in the next chapter) which are mediated through the institutional habitus can be seen at work within the Royal Navy from initial selection through career and eventual discharge. Extracts from the interviews are included to illustrate the thematic analysis. From these extracts a distinct RN habitus emerges. Although initially developed through traineeship I argue that it moves beyond the relatively short-lived and transposable secondary habitus that Wacquant (2015) suggests to one that is more enduring and resistant to change. It is a habitus developed through their response to an existing institutional one that is specific and particular to the Royal Navy.

I argue that the development of the RN habitus starts at the point of application to join the Royal Navy, it is continually developed throughout their career and extends beyond their eventual discharge from the service. It is inculcated through a specific set

of values and beliefs, ways of acting and speaking as well as familial and cultural expectations that are particular to the Royal Navy which is shaped through the expressive order of the institutional habitus. This form of habitus development (primary and secondary cultural capital acquisition) involves familial and education experiences and is mediated through the matrix of interactions with the institutional habitus. In Wacquant's theory of secondary habitus development, or traineeship, he makes very little reference to the familial influence. However, Bourdieu highlights the centrality of the familial influence in his theory of habitus. When an individual joins the Royal Navy, they replace one civilian based familial environment with that of a new one, the Royal Navy family. Bourdieu argues that the socialisations developed within the familial and educational setting constitute their habitus formation. As an individual joins the Royal Navy, the RN adopts the role of parent as it becomes responsible and controls almost every aspect of a person's life in the same way The RN controls things such as when an individual eats, sleeps, exercises, what they learn, what they wear, and even how they walk, twenty-four hours a day. These externally imposed socialisations start to become internalised within individuals as they inculcate the institutional habitus. Whilst the Royal Navy institutional habitus permeates and influences the process and pattern of choice making that it imposes this upon individuals, it also helps develop individuals through training by providing support structures and frameworks such as training, Sea Dads/Mums and Divisional Officers or DO (see glossary-p252 & 250) that perform the familial function that would be found in civilian environment. I argue that this important part of habitus development is what makes a career in the Royal Navy move beyond the more short-lived traineeship that

Wacquant (2013) suggests to become so firmly and completely embedded it becomes their primary habitus, a RN Habitus.

### **Initial recruitment**

The Royal Navy, through its form of institutional habitus, is looking for individuals who are in possession of certain attributes and values or capitals (embodied state). Those joining the Royal Navy are relatively young and as such probably still within their primary habitus formation stage. They may not have any formal qualifications (institutionalized state of cultural capital) so are immediately presented with limited career options and associated lower pay in the wider civilian world. When the applicant arrives for interview and other formal testing processes they will invariably wear what they consider 'smart' clean and ironed clothing, demonstrating their objectified state of cultural capital. Whilst not explicitly stated by the Royal Navy but wrapped up in the expressive order of the institutional habitus (Morrison 2009), there is an expected and acceptable level for 'smart' clothing. Further institutionalised testing in the form of four-part aptitude testing, medical and fitness tests, and suitability interviews complete the process.

It can be seen that they are looking at a person's suitability to join the Royal Navy by conducting an assessment of their habitus, suitability of their cultural capital as well as *illusio*. The Royal Navy is looking for a particular type of person that will fit the *doxa* and they have found that this approach is largely fit for their purpose and constitutes a form of cultural capital which is embedded within the institutional habitus. People are



selected using a rubric based upon a functional aesthetic i.e. do they fit in with the functional aspect of the Royal Navy and do they have an aptitude for their chosen specialisation? However, as discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, the individual must make the choice to engage with this process in order to reap the benefits they believe being a member of the Royal Navy brings. But they may not necessarily recognise the arbitrary imposition of what constitutes culture and thus it is systematically misrecognised as a form of domination and symbolically violent as ultimately the Royal Navy need personnel to operate and fight their ships and aircraft. And to achieve this the Royal Navy is dependent upon the individual possessing and demonstrating the appropriate attributes.

The process of becoming a trained member of the Royal Navy can require significant shift personal perspectives in both values and beliefs as well as understanding the expressive order of the institutional habitus. Recruits have to make compromises such as less personal freedom and imposition of additional rules and laws (e.g. Armed Forces Act 2011) which require adherence. The ultimate change and ethical challenge is the possibility that they could be required to take another person's life or put their own in mortal peril in the pursuit of their duty. Although they undergo significant training to get to that point the reality is still the same. None of the respondents made reference to this particular aspect of the job despite at least three of them having seen active duty in Northern Ireland, Afghanistan and Iraq where there was a very real chance that they could be expected to take another person's life.

## **Starting the career**

Upon entry to the Royal Navy, an individual undertakes recruit training. This is the start of the process of change from a civilian to a functioning member of the Royal Navy. They also occupy two different locations, one based in the socialisations of being a civilian and the newly developing ones associated with joining the Royal Navy. During this process, a secondary habitus is developed through traineeship and the undertaking of pedagogic labour. As part of this transition within the social space, the volume and composition of an individual's new capitals are starting to accumulate as well as the deployment of their existing ones. There will be new networks (social capital) as well as learning the new language of 'Jack Speak' or 'Naval Slanguage' (Jolly 1989), adjusting to a different tempo and way of life, and the various sacrifices made to achieve this (see Simpson et al 2014). Indeed, the respondents bear this out within their narratives. The learning of a new language and the ability to use it effectively to enable them to fit in with, and the subsequent development of one's habitus and position in the field are the hallmarks of linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

After joining the Royal Navy there is an expectation that agents will develop their career through a series of formal and informal events and experiences. At each point the individual will be required to make choices that could be seen as unthinkable, possible or routine. The institutional habitus permeates the process and pattern of choice making. An individual will build up a personal inventory rather like Bourdieu's capitals that can be deployed within the field to support each career transition. The

interaction between the person's habitus and disposition and how the institution influences the pattern and process of choice making plays a major part in how they develop within the new role. The relative success is dependent on the accumulations and types of capitals and their ability to change them over time: the social space.

## **Transition between habitus**

Each individual within the sample has their own particular way of describing their career in the Royal Navy. As part of that narrative they describe their familial and educational experiences in varying depths. As discussed in the theoretical framework chapter, the primary habitus is enduring but not fixed (Bourdieu 1986) and is formed from the socialisations embedded within familial and educational experiences from birth to adulthood. These 'structured' (Bourdieu 1990:50) events influence the choices made during their career within the Royal Navy.

Not all respondents describe their background in the same way. The use of the free-associative gestalt (Wengraf 2001) within the data collection phase means that the narrative is told in terms that are particular, meaningful and important to them at that time of telling. For example, Victor described himself as *'[a] person of ethnic background', 'Ethnic Kid' (Victor, line 41)* but doesn't actually say what his ethnicity is. He talked of joining HMS Raleigh as a recruit *'because I was probably the only person of an ethnic background at Raleigh at the time when I was there'.* (Victor, lines 39-40) In Victor's case that there was a strong sense of disconnectedness with school and his early career in the Royal Navy due to his ethnicity.

*'I don't know, without being exact, there's probably about 1,000 or so sailors going through training at that time, probably one of very few ethnic background sailors so I found it [...] it wasn't a problem to me then, because I'd come from school where I was, you know, the only ethnic kid in my school anyway, so that wasn't a problem for me'. 'Yes, in comparison to nowadays it's massively changed. But there was a certain amount of bullying within training back then, and even though it was nothing sort of physical, there was perhaps quite a bit of mental sort of bullying going on, which can be, which was said at the time as having a laugh and high jinks and stuff, and it's one of the things you get used to when being in the forces. So, I did'.*

*(Victor, Lines 42-57)*

There was a sense that Victor identified himself by his ethnicity when he first joined the Royal Navy. Victor's ethnic identity could be described as part of his habitus; it has been structured by his upbringing and past experiences. His habitus helps in the structure, structuring and shaping his current and future actions. This resulting structure would comprise of a system of dispositions which generate perceptions, appreciations and practices. But as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:133) suggest one's 'Habitus is durable but not fixed; it is capable of change'. However, ethnicity is something Victor cannot change but through traineeship his RN habitus can be developed so that his ethnicity is no longer defining his identity.

Within his account there was a strong sense that once his career progressed he developed an identity not defined by his ethnicity as he had initially done in his transcript but by a being a member of this new social group within the Royal Navy and realising the potential benefit through positioning within the field.

*It was at that point then [after first promotion], that I really decided that I wanted to push myself and from that point then I took all my exams for promotion as soon as I possibly could and I made sure also that I was in a job that allowed me to get the most experience. Because there were some guys that were quite happy to sit in an air station where they wouldn't necessarily*

*get the right sort of experience and just spend their whole career in an air station, just dead man's shoes, getting promoted that way. I wanted to actually sort of put myself in the right place at the right time and get the ticks in the box, if you know what I mean.*

*(Victor Lines 160-170)*

In common with the other narratives from this sample it was told in largely chronological order and, as Victor's account unfolds, he made no further reference to his ethnicity as a way of identifying himself. As we progressed he did identify himself by his specialisation or rank within the wider Royal Navy '*my very first job as a PO was as an instructor at HMS Raleigh teaching my core speciality, which was my specialist trade which was supply chain*' (Victor lines 190-193). He was a young civilian in transition occupying the two locations as discussed above. His sense of identity and agency would have been shaped by his upbringing and educational experiences as Bourdieu (1990) suggests. Therefore, he defined himself partly through his ethnicity along with other descriptions including those that are institutionally defined. His habitus was durable but was capable of change. Once he joined the Royal Navy he started to develop a different, or secondary habitus through traineeship (Wacquant 2013) and an individual's habitus can be made malleable through their disposition towards practice. Moreover, he was beginning the process of internalisation of the Royal Navy's core values where the institutional habitus was influencing the pattern and process of choices that he made. Victor enacted this transition in a contested area brought about by the field conditions. He adjusted and adapted to the new field he found himself in and this was a hallmark of his habitus and capitals accumulated so far that he can draw upon. Wacquant (2013) argues that this transition, or traineeship, is

dependent upon the proximity between the primary and secondary habitus. In Victor's case, he came from a family with a strong tradition of military service and this would almost certainly have had an influence on the type and accumulations of his cultural capital and ultimately his primary habitus as suggested by Reay et al (2001). His primary habitus could account for his relatively straightforward (but not without its challenges) traineeship in the initial stages of his career in the Royal Navy. Once Victor had established how the promotion system worked he started to develop his career and demonstrated that he had the relative merit to progress. But whilst this may be a positive catalyst, change can come from the need to escape from what is seen as an unavoidable future as the next respondent did.

Norman described his familial situation or primary habitus and how he used this as a spring board to change his trajectory.

*If it wasn't farming or forestry there wasn't a lot else going on unless you got an apprenticeship or you were lucky enough to get into your own business or knew somebody that had a business that would take you on. So, that was why, it [the Royal Navy] was sort of a way out.*

*(Norman, Lines 438-443)*

The drive to leave the familial setting and the reality of starting service life was not always straightforward. Yvette cited a family friend and her experiences in the Royal Navy as the reason to join the Royal Navy. However, Yvette explained that nothing prepared her for joining the Royal Navy.

*'I didn't really like any of it, to be quite honest. I struggled with everything and it was such a massive culture shock, I think, for me. I joined as a very immature 18-year-old and, you know, I look at the guys now coming through at 23, 24 and possibly should have waited a little bit longer because I was very immature. I*

*struggled with my running, I struggled with the guns, I struggled with everything and I think I cried almost every night.*

*(Yvette, Lines 909-914)*

For Yvette, it would appear that there was a lack of integration of previous experiences and this resulted in tension caused by the field.

The respondents come from different backgrounds and educational experiences that have formed their primary habitus. All the respondents had different reasons to join the Royal Navy, Victor was influenced by a close friend, Norman saw it as a way out and Yvette was influenced by a friend of the family. But within their narrative they talk of the relative difficulty or ease of traineeship in developing their secondary habitus. Their primary habitus also influenced their choices in terms what was possible and routine as well as some that were unthinkable. However, as they develop their secondary habitus through traineeship the strength of the institutional habitus will ultimately influence their choices.

For others, such as Alan and Yan, they described quite casually how they arrived at a life-changing decision to join the Royal Navy.

*I said let's flip a coin. And this is exactly how it happened. And I flipped a coin, heads was Navy, tails was Army. We came up heads and we both [his friend Brian] went to the Careers Office in Bristol and we joined the Navy, but this was all his idea. I was going to stay on at sixth form, and that's exactly how it happened*

*(Alan, Lines 30-35)*

Yan's story was similar. He joined the Royal Marines (RM) who are also Royal Navy personnel but their training is quite different. The emphasis is on fighting skills as well

as infantry tactics required for operating on both land and at sea. Physical fitness development features prominently in RM initial training. Yan says that *'no real reason why I joined up, I just kind of fell into it type of thing'* (Yan, lines 19-20). But he does add later on in his narrative that

*'there was a Marine sat there at the desk and I was with my missus [a more serious girlfriend] and she went "oh he looks quite good in that uniform". So, I was like okay, I'll join them then'*

*(Yan lines 651-653).*

In terms of an institutional habitus, this example shows how the relative status of the institution has influenced his choice. Yan felt that by joining the Royal Marines and the opportunity to wear the uniform would give him conferred status.

He also made direct reference to parts of training that he struggled with and attributed this to his upbringing,

*'my appreciation of time, probably just due to my upbringing, was just, don't know why, not instilled in me as a youngster and I couldn't get my kit muster laid out on time and all cleaned and stuff'*

*(Yan lines 669-672).*

Here we see an example of the affective dimension of the secondary traineeship. Yan understood (cognitive) what needed to be done but was not really that enthusiastic about doing it due to his primary habitus. It seems that he was not encultured into the ethos of being a Royal Marine yet. The institutional habitus was exerting influence on his choices in terms of how he prepared for his kit muster as well as the expressive order (Morrison 2009) of the intangible and sometime opaque ways the Royal Marines wanted things done. It can be seen that there is a lack of integration of his previous



experiences and its relation to the field. However, as he went through training he was able to reconcile the difference through the support of his training team and others around him. He was beginning to internalise the core values and finally make the correct choices that the institution required of him.

Lesley made no reference to the circumstances that led to her joining the Royal Navy. Her narrative started at the point of joining the Royal Navy and moved past completing basic training and on to Phase 2 or specialist development. Within the interviews, she was the only one to describe her initial experiences of the Royal Navy like this.

*My training at Raleigh bizarrely enough I don't recall a lot of it. It didn't stick out in my mind as being something I looked back on with great joy or with great disappointment to be honest so I can't remember how it set me up for actually joining my first unit.*

*(Lesley, lines 19-24)*

It would be reasonable to conclude that her previous experiences were somehow aligned to the new field she now occupies. What is not clear is what these experiences were.

Andrew's school education was fairly typical of the other participants inasmuch as he didn't really enjoy the classroom subjects and preferred the practical subjects. Similar to Norman's story, he talked of wanting to get out of his home town. Andrew also talked of the Royal Navy giving him a structure that he lacked and he quickly seemed to have realised how it works.

*'When I got here I was absolutely terrified because, you know, a seventeen-year-old, never been away from home before, got here and I loved it from day*

*one. The instruction in basic training, I found a lot of it quite, they basically told you what you had to know.*

*(Andrew, Lines 27-31)*

Roger described his decision to join the Royal Navy as

*'the only real reason I joined is because my best mate did. He was a year older than me at a different school, but we grew up together in the same area where we lived. He'd come back and tell me some stories about what he'd begun on his training, etc. It just seemed almost a natural thing for me, but it was something where I thought 'why not'.*

*(Roger lines 21-27)*

Oliver, like some of the other respondents, had members of his family who had served in the military. His motivation to join is not particularly clear but he was a bit older (aged 20) and had worked in Information Technology (IT) beforehand. There was a very real sense that this field of work was not particularly fulfilling for him.

He described his first encounter with the Royal Navy

*'[I] went in to most of that [Initial training] with my eyes marginally closed, just wandered from A to B not really knowing what was going on and just sort of following those in front of me. So, as a training perspective that was a little confusing for me really and I always think it's good from the outset that people know where they're going, what they're doing, why they're doing it, how they're going to do it and move on from there really. But I enjoyed my initial naval training.'*

*(Oliver lines 22-29)*

We can see that, although articulated in different ways, the structured parts of their life appear to lead them to make the decision to join the Royal Navy. Each choice made was a result of their primary habitus experiences. The institutional habitus of their families and schooling influenced the pattern and process of their choice making (Reay

et al, 2001). There was a relationship between the integration of previous experiences and accumulations of capitals from their primary habitus and the tensions that originate from the field conditions. The reconciliation of these is a hallmark of habitus and accumulations of capitals and experiences they can draw upon.

It is worth adding a point of clarification here. It is readily acknowledged that there is a very clear difference between wanting to leave home and 'joining up' as so much can happen in between. However, the narrative construction with all the respondents was such that the two states, leaving home, or finishing school, and joining up, are conflated into one statement of action. The two states, civilian and service person, are at the nexus of their thinking, a tacit recognition of transitioning between different habitus. For example

*I joined the Navy in 1989, straight from school, as a 16-year-old*  
(Victor lines 20-21)

*I joined the navy when I was 16 years old, I made a decision roughly two months after finishing my GCSEs which was in the May of 1990*  
(Roger Lines 18-20)

*I always wanted to be in the Navy from I think when I had my first career interview as a child*  
(Andrew lines 17-19)

*I joined the Navy quite simply, I was coming up to leaving school and I had a few options, stay at school in the sixth form then go from there to maybe uni, or leave school and get a job*  
(Alan Lines 16-19)

The respondents all talked of joining the Royal Navy as a specific point in their life and variously went on to describe it in the form of a new chapter. This new chapter was the development of a secondary habitus through traineeship (Wacquant 2013).

However, I propose to extend and further refine this by proposing that it moved beyond another traineeship to something particular and more enduring through the influence of the institutional habitus: a RN habitus.

### **The Development of a Royal Navy habitus**

Within the data individuals made references to how they overcame some of the cognitive challenges involved with career transitions as well as the adaptations they made to their new positioning within the field. Most of the respondents talked of the physical challenges and the development of new skills such as firefighting, damage control and physical training (PT) as well as the limitations an injury can have on their career. Respondents talked of what drives them to strive to do the best they can and what it feels like when they no longer have the enthusiasm, or *illusio* to continue. They often made use of the developing matrix of relationships within the new field to overcome these difficulties. As they moved away from one family they began to form a relationship with a new one in the Royal Navy.

Bourdieu (1984) argues that for an individual, the volume and composition of capitals within their primary habitus is largely governed by field conditions. Wacquant's (2013) suggests that the relative proximity of the existing primary habitus to that of the new secondary habitus also influences the ease of traineeship. Conversely, the relative volume and composition of these components of capital can vary in time and this in turn can influence the traineeship. He argues that transferable or transposable schemas that form the secondary habitus are gained through pedagogic labour. Part of

the pedagogic labour will involve the internalisation of the core values and working within the institutional habitus, particularly the expressive order.

For example, Yvette (lines 909-915) claimed to have struggled with every part of her initial Royal Navy training, suggesting that there was a gap in her understanding of the expressive order producing a significant misalignment between her primary and her new secondary habitus, resulting in what Wacquant refers to as a difficult traineeship. But she must have had the schemas or disposition to bridge the gap and, although she experienced setbacks and difficulty, she was able to make the transition through pedagogic labour. What isn't clear is what element or transposable schema within her primary habitus she drew upon to make the transition. By her own admission, she felt there was nothing in her upbringing that she could identify that that would prepare her for joining the Royal Navy. So, other than being '*part of a big family and fighting for things*' (Yvette Lines 923-924) she says nothing prepared her for the difficulties she experienced when she joined the Royal Navy.

However, there is a suggestion that a close family friend could have been an influence. The family friend was a Naval Nurse and had always said since Yvette was very young '*that I [Yvette] could join the navy and she used to show me her photos*' (Yvette, lines 870-871). Whilst Yvette couldn't see herself as a nurse she could see herself in the Royal Navy. Her upbringing influenced her process and pattern of choice making to the extent that joining the Royal Navy was at least a possibility.

This familial support can be seen at key points of development within her narrative.

For example, Yvette makes reference to her DO when going through training

*'we had a wonderful Warrant Officer, she was a female blue badge WREN and she was Warrant Officer 'W' who then went on to be the BWO (base Warrant Officer) at [redacted], and she was absolutely fantastic, a great role model and at the same time I'm thinking I don't want to be anything like Yeoman C but I want to be everything like Warrant Officer W, she was like a mother to us.*  
(Yvette, lines 30-36)

When she arrived at a new unit Yvette describes the LH or Killick (See glossary-p251)

that looked after her

*When I got to [redacted], I had a lovely Killick WREN...and I just used to follow her around-she was just like an older sister, so calm and nice and everything was done at my pace, I wasn't shouted at'*

(Yvette, Lines 392-398)

Yvette also then goes on to say how she enjoyed being a 'sea mum' (the female equivalent of a sea dad-see glossary-p252) and looking after her subordinates. So, although Yvette doesn't articulate it as explicitly as the reason for her development, her narrative contains references to 'family' and being a 'Sea Mum' and these resources form part of the choices she makes in her career development.

Joining the Royal Navy is quite an undertaking in terms of acquiring new knowledge and assimilating new cultural capital. The institutional habitus, particularly the expressive order, needs to be understood. What is of immediate note with Lesley is she makes very little reference to the actual transition from civilian to Royal Navy personnel but she does acknowledge that it must have come relatively easily

*...I'm guessing it did because that was the small transition you have to make but it must have come quite naturally without me thinking about it or having to work hard at it'*

*(Lesley Lines 25-30)*

This suggests that there is quite a close alignment between her primary and secondary habitus and suggests that her traineeship was relatively straightforward. Moreover, it would suggest that the internalisation of the core values and understanding of the expressive order of the institutional habitus was understood. As Wacquant (2013) argues, some agent's primary habitus have a closer alignment to the secondary one and their schemas are transferable or transposable. Quite what that was within Lesley's upbringing is not clear within the data. However, within her response there is a subtle change in her candour when she ceases to gloss over events from the beginning of her naval career and starts to become more detailed.

*'When did it all become super important and did I grow up a little to understand my training? I suppose that was when I became a Leading Hand because then you get a bit of responsibility'*

*(Lesley Lines 52-59).*

In Lesley's case, it seems that she had accumulated cognitive and connotative components to ease her into the traineeship. However, I would suggest that the affective component was slower in developing. So, whilst she could, to all intents and purposes, 'keep up' with everyone else she had not yet sufficiently developed the affective component. There is the other possibility that she very quickly 'got it' and therefore her affective domain had not been put under any pressure during initial training. It wasn't until she moved to a position of responsibility that it was tested.

Perhaps the expressive order of the institutional habitus was not particularly well understood for the new level of responsibility she had.

The three areas of traineeship are relational and interdependent. I argue that whilst undergoing a traineeship, latent skills in these three areas are deployed by the individual. The data from the respondents suggests that often these latent skills do not meet the Royal Navy requirement. The Royal Navy, through training, provides the individual with focus and impetus to develop and integrate these three areas more effectively and fulsomely through systematic misrecognition, domination and symbolic violence. These will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

For Andrew, the relative close proximity between the primary and secondary habitus, coupled with a certain disposition, means that the transition was easier but not completely without problems. He talks of the Royal Navy giving him structure and he quickly seems to have realised how it works.

*'they basically told you what you had to know. You quickly learned that, this instructor would say 'is everyone happy with this bit?' and point to it on the board and you would think, right okay he needs me to write that down – that's the bit I have to learn. So I don't think that is a particularly good way of training people, but when you went out on the playground [parade ground], and you were out on the assault courses and the firefighting and the survival skills that you learn as a sailor, like damage control and stuff like that – that is fantastic training I think because it's hands-on, you're in a simulated environment which, you know, when I went through the firefighting training it was incredibly hot, incredibly dirty and incredibly frightening, but that's good because it really gave you an experience of what it might like in a fire. And so, I found that very ...anything that was proper hands-on was very good, but anything that was classroom based which there had to be some elements of and I understand that, I didn't particularly enjoy it.'*

*(Andrew, Lines 27-44)*



*'You quickly worked out... you didn't actually have to do very much; all you had to do was listen and react in that way. So really, when you're caught up in it, it was simple. I think when you reflect back on it you might be a bit, "Oh, that was a bit..." sort of, "Surely there must be an easier way of doing that." But I think if you really think about it, there probably isn't an easier way of doing that. But at the time it was easy to do because you quickly realised that you had to be in the right place at the right time, and there wasn't that much thinking involved, sort of thing. So, it was actually quite easy'.*

*(Andrew, Lines 1144-1153)*

Here we can see that he felt that initial training was relatively easy but he makes a clear distinction between classroom and practical based subjects. There is a sense that he had some difficulty with classroom learning but the experiential aspects of training i.e. firefighting, where the taught components are put into action were much easier for him. He is also tacitly beginning to develop the affective component as he says that he quickly had worked out what you had to do. It would seem that he had quickly understood the expressive order of the institutional habitus and was able start the process of internalising the core values of the Royal Navy. However, it is the connotative part that he was struggling with particularly the physical aspects that required strength. But he had the psychomotor skills as he understood what to do and the mechanics of the task. This is an important point to emphasise in relation to the development of a secondary habitus and shows the interconnectedness of the three components. In Andrew's case, we can see that the physical and psychomotor (Conative) are inextricably linked to the cognitive. It is no good to have the thinking skills without the physical ability to enact it and vice versa.

To the Royal Navy, the conative component of development is important. The Royal Navy recognise that maintaining a good state of physical fitness and health are key to

an effective fighting force (RN 2015 & 2016) and this starts with detailed preparation for a demanding entrance test prior to joining. The emphasis on developing and maintaining physical fitness is made within RN (2016)

‘It is essential that once you have attained the necessary levels of physical and medical fitness, you make every effort to maintain them. You will be required to always be fit for the duties expected of you during your Service Career.

Having passed your pre-entry fitness tests, if you should let your standards slip before joining your New-Entry training establishment, you may be removed from training, so it is important to maintain your fitness levels.’

(RN 2016:3)

However, the introduction of pre-entry physical fitness tests is a relatively recent aspect of Royal Navy recruiting and was not a feature when Andrew joined.

For Andrew, the physical aspects and the threat of being removed from training caused him great personal distress.

*‘The physical aspect. I struggled with the physical aspect because I was... I was skinny. I was skinny, I’d never sort of... running around and stuff like that, but rope work, pulling myself up a rope, couldn’t do it. Couldn’t do it. I cried... well, I used to cry myself to sleep about it. I was on the phone to my mum... I can’t remember how often you got a phone call home, but when I was I was upset about that and I couldn’t do that. That physical aspect, not... The running was great and all the other stuff was, you know, fine. Rope climbing, couldn’t do it; just couldn’t... Took ages to get it’*

(Andrew, Lines 1108-1116)

With support from his peers and the training team, Andrew does overcome the issues and there is a growing sense of determination and stubbornness when faced with situations such as this. Throughout his narrative Andrew talks of the problems he has faced and overcome within his personal life and career in the Royal Navy and how he

has used role models and influential people to achieve it in a similar way to Lesley and Oliver. Through traineeship he developed skills that are not only important and part of the culture within a career in the Royal Navy but also in life.

The development of conative component of the RN habitus can be seen from a different perspective when we can look at Norman as an example.

*'the careers office decided I was too large a chap to join, I had to go home and lose some weight and reapply... I didn't join the Navy until I was twenty-two so a little bit mature and in hindsight I think that was a good thing.... being that little bit older stood me in a better stead I think for what the training was going to throw at me*

*(Norman, Lines 19-31)*

Part of the selection rubric refers to an individual's physique including weight. If they are under tall or overweight for their height, or as Norman describes 'too large', this will hamper the development of the conative component of the traineeship. Whilst they do not refer to this aspect in these terms the resultant action is that the conative component was judged as not matching the Royal Navy requirement at that particular time in order for him to begin the traineeship. But using the conceptual tool of habitus, it can be seen that the 'structured', or the impact of life experiences he accumulated by not joining the Royal Navy until a later age suggest that they contributed to the relative ease of Norman's transition. The conditions for developing a secondary habitus were available and he could see the benefit of engaging in the pedagogical labour to achieve it. The result of this was able to maintain a relatively coherent sense of self whilst developing a RN habitus.

Oliver describes his traineeship with honesty and he also demonstrates a strong ability to read a situation and then learn and take away new understandings from it. This ability to read the situation is first in evidence during his initial training where he says half-smiling that he *'just wandered from A to B not really knowing what was going on and just sort of following those in front of me...but I really enjoyed my initial naval training'* (Oliver, lines 23-29). To be successful in initial Royal Navy training by *'following the person in front of you'* is probably being a bit modest. However, he must have been able to mobilise help and support from others so activities became a team effort. Fairness and working as a team is something he carried over in to his career and he uses it to develop his subordinates.

*I learnt that everything's got to be fair, you can't do to one and not to the other and all that sort of stuff regardless of gender, age, experience, etc. etc. it ain't going to wash and especially when you've got like I say strong leading hands, strong Senior Rate just won't buy it, just won't buy it, if you're trying to feed them rubbish they just won't buy it, they won't buy into it at all.*

*(Oliver lines 140-145)*

For Oliver, his traineeship was a relatively straightforward one as his primary and developing RN habitus appear to be closely aligned. It seems that he also understood the practices of the institutional habitus as he slipped into Royal Navy life relatively smoothly despite the modest explanation. As we go further into Oliver's narrative we can see that he is quickly able to adapt to the new situations he finds himself in and making appropriate choices suggesting that all three components in his traineeship as well as his understanding of the institutional habitus are well-developed, greatly enhancing his career.

As a PTI (Physical Training Instructor) he does talk of initial training from the perspective of someone trying to develop the conative component in others.

*'they do something called Initial Military Fitness (IMF), [introduced 2006] it takes people basically even if you've not done a great deal before you join the forces it will condition you, get you fit, get you strong, make you a little more robust and that's why now we're seeing less injuries at the end of training or through training. We are seeing a big one for me [sic] is equality through the genders; so, the girls are as strong if not stronger than some of the boys, they can do everything the boys can do and some of them even better. We're getting fitter people, we're getting stronger people and I think it's that mental robustness as well having come from Civilian Street for some of them, never really done a great deal of phys or arrived deconditioned and then they've come out the other side of training stronger, fitter, faster than they've ever been, and for some of them that's quite a big point in their lives really.'*

*(Oliver, lines 154-169)*

This suggests that some of the conative development of those that joined the Royal Navy before 2006 was perhaps less focused and structured toward the job required to be done. But in terms of the prevailing doxa people just accept that is the way it was done, in the same way they accepted the 'new' way. As discussed in chapter 2, the institutional habitus is constituted of individual ones and has a history and ethos. My suggestion is that this is an example of where individuals are using their previous experiences to influence and change their organisational practices but only when they have risen to a position of trust where they can demonstrate the components of their evolving RN habitus.

It would appear from the narratives that no one was able to fully assimilate the three components of traineeship without having to work at developing aspects of them to a certain extent. It is the development of a RN habitus that provided impetus and a

supporting framework for their development. The narratives did not make explicit or sustained mention of developing the affective component. But they did talk of the difficulty in understanding how to carry out activities that were linked to the specific and distinctive expressive order of the institutional habitus of the Royal Navy such as marching, kit inspections, weapon drills, firefighting and damage control. These were articulated in terms such as Andrew mentions i.e. physical or cognitive skills or as Yvette said '*Marching and guns*'. However, it was taken for granted that these are just part of the way things are done in the Royal Navy and the 'why' is not questioned, only the 'how' to and 'what' do I need to do to achieve it. They are already internalising and reflecting the core values of commitment, loyalty and determination. All the respondents made use of the support mechanisms, influential persons and role models within the Royal Navy to enable them to gain traction. As they internalise the core values and assimilate the institutional habitus, they then went on to become those influential persons and role models that supported others. It would seem that it is taken for granted that the affective component will develop through the immersive process of Phase One and Two training and thus the developing capitals and overcoming tensions created by the field conditions become embodied. The embodiment of these becomes one's new or RN habitus.

Yan talked about his early experiences in training in similar ways. This is where he started to develop his secondary habitus and provides an example of the development of social habitus by the RM. The familiar articulation of struggling with aspects of training was evident in his account. He states '[I] *struggled with training. I came from a*

*not so well off background and I was on an estate, I was in Glasgow and struggled initially with training'* (Yan, lines 20-22). These familial experiences as well as those mentioned earlier suggest that there was very little in his upbringing that prepared him for joining the RM. However, there was a particular point in training when he states he understood how it works, he had understood the expressive order of the institutional habitus:

*but when I learnt the whole kind of go, quick, faster type ethos, which I developed through extra fitness exercises, after I developed that and learnt that, by week fifteen, I got, I remember getting the 'Most Improved Recruit' [award], which proved to me that when it does click into place, that when you do things quicker, mainly in the field and getting all your administration done in time, getting your weapon cleaned, getting all your kit cleaned. After it all fell into place, I can't remember exactly how it fell in, I just remember one day going oh, this is what I've got to do, I've got to move quicker. And all I have to do extra appears to be a run around that tree in the far distance. So, that was the first kind of memorable thing that it felt like the transition from not really knowing what I was doing to, it felt like I kind of belong here now. Training after that wasn't any more remarkable, I just became one of the, well I was always one of the lads but it became less of a, less of a hard regime and more something I just kind of played along.*

*(Yan, lines 22-41)*

This suggests not only a developing conative component (physicality and development), the cognitive (thinking things through) but also an emerging affective component. He seems to have understood how the institutional habitus works and he could see the benefits to engaging with it through pedagogic labour. From my own experience of RM training suggests that whilst he may not '*remember exactly how it all fell in [to place]*', his training team, along with his peers, would have been a source of information, advice and guidance as to what was required in the same way they were when they went through training. Where he says "*it felt like I kind of belonged here*

*now'* can be interpreted as a reference to his changed habitus achieved through traineeship with the support of his training team and other significant persons.

What is in common with Yan's story and the other respondents is that they never mentioned a desire to go back to being a civilian. And yet they will eventually have to go back to the civilian world at the end of their contract. The data suggests that the traineeship of these individuals is so complete that the embodiment of capitals, dispositions and the field have become enduring that the RN Habitus becomes their new primary habitus. Whilst not using these terms, Jolly (1996:166) offers a similar observation and refers to individuals as 'painstakingly conditioned *by* the military *for* the military and de-conditioning doesn't just come as a matter of course'. This, she argues, leads to most service leavers experiencing some difficulties adjusting to the civilian world. A reoccurring theme that Jolly (1996) mentions is service leavers talking of a loss of belonging to the service family and the support and friendship of comrades. Whilst most are able to make the transition from service person back to civilian, Jolly (1996:153) argues they will always 'be ex-service'. I argue that because the development of the RN habitus is so complete that becoming a civilian is a whole new traineeship but for many there is a profound sense of loss of a coherent sense of self which does impact upon the affective component. My argument is the familial component that forms an integral component of the development of a RN habitus is not always in evidence within civilian roles in the same way. This leads to individuals undertaking just another traineeship that has less of an impact or change to an individual's habitus.



Norman and Victor are both service leavers and in their narratives, they refer to their new work colleagues as civilians or 'civvies'. To me this indicates that they are still viewing the world as Royal Navy personnel even though they are no longer part of the Royal Navy. It must be pointed out that this is only based upon two individuals and these claims should be viewed within the overall aims of this research project.

Furthermore, no specific or particular exploration of the difficulties of adaption in this area was undertaken other than analysis within the broader narrative.

Although they have only just left the Royal Navy both seem to be ambivalent with their new careers. They like some aspects but there are other parts where they say they struggle with the civilian way of doing things. In the same way they had to assimilate the institutional habitus, they are having to do it again with their new employer.

However, they are able to draw upon the internalised core values from the Royal Navy to at least some extent start that process of assimilation and change. They talked of the differences between the Royal Navy and their new careers in terms of the approaches required when dealing with people. When referring to their civilian work colleagues as 'civvies', it not a derogatory comment but more of a recognition that they were ex-Royal Navy rather than civilians. For example, Victor recounts how his time in the Royal Navy has made him into the person he is and how the taken-for-granted is viewed positively by his civilian employer.

*'it was difficult to begin with but just through time and experience you become the person you are, you know, and just the little things I've noticed that civilians really like, like punctuality, smartness, honest, loyalty, all that sort of stuff, core [Royal Navy] values'*

*(Victor, lines 1069-1072)*

In their social life, both Victor and Norman have retained very strong links with the Royal Navy. Norman is an active member of an ex-Royal Navy association (*Norman, lines 687-703*) and Victor regularly organises gatherings and events with his old comrades (Victor post-interview notes). I suggest that although relatively positive about their new careers, both do miss the Royal Navy 'family' and this is evident from the conversations we have had before and after the interviews. This suggests the depth to which the RN habitus and doxa have become internalised and embodied- they draw upon these previous experiences to inform their future actions. These are tentative claims which need further research.

### **Habitus Clivé**

The idea that a secondary habitus can be developed in a relatively short space of time is a theme highlighted by Friedman (2015). This appears to refute Bourdieu's (1984) contention that habitus is enduring and durable. Bourdieu (1999:511) provided the caveat that within one's habitus there is a band of possible trajectories. The variety and accumulation of capitals and the field in which it is enacted can produce different outcomes. Thus, within one's habitus there are accumulations of capital that, given the right field conditions and dispositions, are capable of multiple outcomes. These are ultimately the deciding factors as to which trajectory is followed. However, Friedman (2015) does add clarification to the transitions and notes a subtle but very important difference. Those that have a longer time to assimilate the transition, for example by remaining within the organisation and 'go up through the ranks' (Friedman 2015:7), are able to maintain a coherent sense of identity and agency and are able to adapt to

the changing conditions of the field. Undoubtedly, these adaptations and choices are influenced by the practices of the institutional habitus. He also suggests that those that have experienced rapid changes within their transitions can experience adverse effects in terms of loss of identity, agency and self-efficacy. Bourdieu (1990) also suggests that a divided habitus, or habitus clivé, is full of ambivalence, compromise, competing loyalties, ambiguity and conflict.

The occupation of two different locations at either end of a career, Civilian-Royal Navy or Royal Navy-Civilian is of particular interest here. If we examine the beginning of a Royal Navy career, the developing habitus is still routed in the primary and secondary socialisations (Bourdieu 1984). This makes the transitions through traineeship a significant undertaking and can be particularly resistant to change. But in the same way they were developed through familial and educational socialisations and experiences they are capable of change providing the right conditions are created within the new field. Reay (2015:11) argues that it is 'the integration, or lack of integration of these disparate experiences that make up the biography'. In short, they are in two different locations and if they are unable to reconcile differences it can lead to a loss of a coherent self.

Alan's narrative is a good example of this. Alan and his friend Brian were both of a similar age when they joined the Royal Navy. However, Brian left within the first five years of service. Below, Alan mentions the reasons for Brian's early departure from the Royal Navy as well as the discussion he had with him about it. Brian came straight out

of training and went on to serve on board the ship HMS ILLUSTRIOUS as it departed for a 10-month global trip. This would have been a real shock to the system being away for 10 months, plus HMS ILLUSTRIOUS is a big aircraft carrier and has a full complement of over 1000 crew, potentially large enough to have its own institutional habitus. He would be required to assimilate the institutional practices, all his specialist knowledge in a very complex and large ship where simply navigating yourself around is a major challenge. As Alan says

*It was ten months long and he went to Australia, everywhere, but I think it did him in, because it was his first trip. It was just too long. He was a young lad like me and it was just too long for your first trip. You know, if you've been in four, five years, got a few years under your belt, and it did him. He come back and he couldn't do it no more.*

*(Alan, Lines 757-763)*

Alan spent his first few years on smaller ships and short deployments at sea. This gradual build-up of experiences is akin to Friedman's (2015) 'going up through the ranks'. This is to accept the Royal Navy practice of domination through the institutional habitus and the divisions applied in the promotion criteria. In his narrative Alan said wanted to go on a long global trip but he waited a few years before starting the process of positioning himself to allow this to happen. Here we see evidence of Alan's ability to adapt to the changing conditions of the field, making choices that are influenced by the institutional habitus, as well as understanding the doxa of the Royal Navy and maintain a coherent sense of self. Alan has remained in the Royal Navy for a full career<sup>5</sup> and seems to have adapted to his circumstances better. To emphasise this,

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<sup>5</sup> A full career is considered to be 22 years and an individual would normally leave with a pension. Those with specialist knowledge or skills can be signed on for further service.

he says in his narrative he did a similar global deployment and had the trip of a lifetime.

In respect to this divided habitus or loss of coherent self, Wacquant (2013) does offer an insight to this with his notion of traineeship. Undoubtedly, both Alan and Brian had undergone similar cognitive and conative development otherwise the Royal Navy would not pass them out of phase two training. The difference seems to be the affective component. The three components are relational and it seems that for most of the respondents the affective component is developed through training and the immersive component of simply being in the Royal Navy and internalising the core values of the institutional habitus. For Alan, he seems to have 'got it' and moved at a more sedate pace so his band of possible trajectories always remained a field of possibilities. Whereas Brian had not 'got it'. I can only surmise this perspective from Alan's response data but it is illustrative of Friedman's 'up through the ranks' argument. In the context of the other respondents' data for those that make rapid changes, their habitus is less likely to change at the same rate and they will experience distress such as those that Yvette, Yan, Roger and Lesley experienced. Bourdieu (2005) suggests that the trajectory of possibilities becomes limited due to the rapid changing of the habitus which draws on its structured elements from the past. If these are unsuitable or do not come within the scope of the required structure the individual will experience distress and instability and ultimately a loss of a coherent self.

The loss of a coherent self does account for why some of the respondents struggled with Phase 1 training. Many of them talk of how emotional or difficult it was for them expressed in terms such as '*homesickness*' (Victor line 341), not wanting to be seen as a '*mummy's boy*' (Roger line 36) or '*hating it*' (Yvette line 266). They all indicated what could be viewed as a loss of kinship ties to family or close friends. Roger's use of the '*mummy's boy*' highlights the way hegemonic masculinity is constructed and embedded in institutional cultural capital. The parallels with the work done by Colley (2012) on the emotional and learning aspects of change within the workplace are clear to see. Here she relates work done by Dejours (2009) that shows 'that managers of enterprises increasingly pressurise staff to act in ways that conflict with their sense of ethical practice and as a result produce emotional turmoil' (Dejours 2009 cited in Colley 2012:318). Whilst this was a response to a comparatively radical change in the workplace, joining the Royal Navy can feel like a huge change and result in turmoil. This is a point made by many of the respondents.

This retrospective cycle is repeated when personnel leave the Royal Navy as Victor and Norman's narratives suggested. For Victor and Norman, they had left home, joined the Royal Navy and developed a RN habitus. When they left the Royal Navy, they embarked on another traineeship and developed another secondary habitus. The RN habitus and dispositions are applied to the new traineeship and if the accumulation of capitals is sufficient, the field conditions and prevailing doxa are negotiated, with sufficient time it will become their new habitus. The impact of the past and the present on the future is one way in which social positioning is replicated.

One key finding from the data was the importance of kinship and camaraderie within the distinct social groups within the Royal Navy. The enduring nature of some kinship ties is expressed by Norman

*And I think with the Gunnery branch it's like that. I still see people that were on my first ship and my wife is still friends with their wives from my first ship and stuff like that. So, there is something deep seated with the Navy or the forces that keeps people in touch with each other, the camaraderie*

*(Norman, lines 726-731)*

This 'deep-seated' camaraderie comes from a strong sense of belonging to the Royal Navy family, kinship and sharing values that serve to unite. When they leave the Royal Navy, some respondents maintain these kinship ties by joining ex-Royal Navy associations or have social gatherings similar to those organised by Victor. Norman explained his membership of the West Country Gunnery Association

*In the Gunners branch, there's always been quite a lot of camaraderie, even now I belong to the West Country Gunnery Association and there's guys there that are in their sixties, I think there's a couple in their seventies actually and they've been... and they've been with the Association since they were in the Navy and then they left and they've stayed and we've got quite a good cross section of people... they've always been sort of looked after each other and there's always been something there...I think like I mentioned before it's because the Gunners are seen as sort of a senior branch in the Navy and a lot of history there and they try to sort of keep it up.*

*(Norman, Lines 687-703)*

Norman talked of seeing the Royal Navy as a way out of his situation at home. But the pathway was almost pre-prepared for him inasmuch as both of his brothers were in the Royal Navy.

*Well both my brothers had been in the Navy so it was the thing that I had sort of grown up with and seen the postcards, seen the photographs, heard the stories so that sort of appealed to me.*

*(Norman Lines 428-429)*

The familial component of his habitus had served to provide a band of possible trajectories and the field conditions (in this example, the desire to get away from home) contributed to the development of his RN habitus. The sense of loss was paradoxically actually a force for good in his case. This suggests that the adverse effect on the loss of kinship ties associated with home was less of a concern, or at least worth it in the longer term.

The manifestation of the feeling of not being able to cope when first joining the Royal Navy is quite common across most of the respondents. For Roger, it was the homesickness; for Andrew, it was the physical aspects; for Norman, it was the perceived lack of education and his weight; for Yan, it was lack of time management; for Oliver, it was a feeling of not really understanding what was going on; and for Yvette, it seems that almost any transition is described as difficult.

In Yvette's narrative where she describes her transition from sailor to Leading Hand, she states that she

*'hated my Leading Rates Command Course, did that back in 2006. I absolutely hated it, I think I cried for the majority of the two weeks, the stress and the tiredness and the being shouted at constantly were completely alien to me, I'd never heard of anything like it.'*

*(Yvette, Lines 263-268)*



It seems that whenever there is a major transition Yvette mentions the elements that seem to have a particularly strong emotional impact upon her, perhaps more so than the other respondents. There is a constant theme of feeling that she is not good enough, although she does recognise within herself that she is. She does seem to be wracked with self-doubt. For example

*'I didn't feel like I had the skills required to be an instructor - or a Phase One instructor - having not been a Senior rate for more than a matter of months and then everything that you learned on the Command Course, you put all of that into training your Phase One recruits. I didn't feel like I had enough knowledge or I was...not that I wasn't capable - because I was capable - I just didn't feel like I had enough about me to do it'*

*(Yvette, Lines 1736-1742)*

Alan described the transition he experienced when working with the Royal Marines. He would be working in a challenging environment alongside the Royal Marines and physical and psychomotor skill development were part of that. He phlegmatically stated *'they would take you for five-mile runs and try and turn a sailor into a soldier; which is going to be hard work'* (Alan lines 269-271). Throughout his narrative, he seems to stoically take most things in his stride and he never expresses any hint of distress with the difficulties he experiences.

The development of the cognitive component is sometimes hampered by events from the primary habitus. For example, in Norman's case he was continually hampered by his perceived lack of educational attainment and finds learning somewhat of a challenge despite all the relative success in his career. He still does not see himself as educationally successful as the culturally imposed measures (Bourdieu & Passeron

1977) or qualifications, in this case during his formative years (GCSEs), were not attained until much later on in his career. The attainment of 5 GCSEs in the education system in the UK, indicates a minimum level of attainment.

*'Some things I found harder a lot of the education type stuff because I'd been out of school for a few years so that sort of slipped by when you're trying to revise for things'*

*(Norman, Lines 514-517)*

*So, the classroom sort of environment was hard but then when we were out because you did your marching type stuff, and that, and that was okay. [but] Maths was difficult.*

*(Norman, Lines 263-265,)*

As Norman described his cognitive development as a member of the Royal Navy, he referred back to his perceived lack of scholarly ability. However, he did also suggest that his previous experiences at school didn't really prepare him for the Royal Navy. This echoes Reay et al (2001) argument of the role the previous educational experiences play in determining the future choices in terms of what is unthinkable, possible or routine. For Norman it would seem that the school had influenced him to believe that further scholarly endeavour was unthinkable but the Royal Navy and its institutional habitus had at least made the unthinkable a possibility. My own experience of the services is that they make the possible appear routine and the unthinkable appear possible and this encourages individuals to strive to be even ambitious. In response to the question *"You went to Collingwood to do your cross training to become an OM, how did your previous educational experiences prepare you for this new role?"* (Interviewer, Lines 794-796)

*Well they didn't to be honest because it was all going to be new and again it was the thing about not being at school for so long because a lot of it was*

*engineering, although that's what I wanted to do when I first joined and a lot of it would still have been fresh in your mind.*

*(Norman, Lines 798-817)*

For others, the new field also provides challenges and tensions. Roger explained how he was keen to not be seen as a *'mummy's boy'* and thus *'dripping'* but recognised homesickness and its effects. The articulation of not wanting to be seen as a *'mummy's boy'* is an indication of rapid assimilation of the situation within the field, including tacit acknowledgment of the hegemonic masculinity, in which his traineeship is being enacted. He was internalising the core values and developing a RN habitus as he transitioned from civilian to the Royal Navy. To underline this there was an interesting part of his narrative (Roger, lines 47-51) in which he visited his old school in his new uniform, a sense of the rejection of the primary habitus, of the *'old'* Roger, and this is now the developing RN habitus of the *'new'* Roger. Perhaps it is not a rejection but rather an assimilation of the new field conditions and his dispositions from his primary habitus have enabled him to adjust. The visit to the school was probably an overt demonstration of his new found *'distinction'* and lifestyle (Bourdieu 1984 & 1990), the uniform being the outward and most visible indicator of this new cultural capital.

Within this there is also a graphic almost physical sense of habitus clivé in that Roger was occupying two physical spaces; the wearing of the Royal Navy uniform and returning to school. The transition for Roger was largely benevolent (Friedman 2014. Milburn 2015) as he was outwardly demonstrating social mobility and in his own words feeling quite proud.

*'So, I went back and visited my old school in uniform, because I was working for the careers office, which is a little bit more embarrassing, not that I particularly wanted to do it. But at the same time, I felt quite proud.*

*(Roger, lines 46-50)*

Moreover, it would seem that the expected downside of this that Friedman (2015) suggests accompanies this transition such as a change in kinship ties and intimate familial relationships were not particularly noticeable within this part of his story. Indeed, in his own words he seems to have taken to RN life *'like a duck to water'* (Roger Line 41). Existing relationships were replaced with new ones in the vastly different social structure of the Royal Navy.

The concept of *habitus clivé* is also associated with the adverse effects such as a sense of loss and dislocation experienced by those leaving the Royal Navy as suggested by Jolly (1996). However, it can be linked with social mobility and a benevolent force (Friedman 2014, Milburn 2013). This then suggests that *clivé* is not only a tool for retrospection but for looking forward to possible actions as well. For example, Alan very briefly mentioned the DTTT (see glossary-p249) training course only to say that he completed it but would rather have stayed where he was doing the specialised job he knew and the people he enjoyed working with. The initial reluctance to leave the specialist role could be linked to the notion of *clivé*. Alan was picked to do the job because of his experience and specialist skills. He had worked hard to become part of the team and then he was going to be moved away from this to do the DTTT course. However, Alan completed it and it actually moved his career on as it opened up the possibility of new experiences, responsibility and kinship ties. Therefore, on occasion's

habitus clivé can have positive aspects as it helps move agents to develop their career by providing new opportunities, even though these can sometimes be forced upon them.

There is also a clear connection with the development of a RN habitus as well.

Although he was not a volunteer for the DTTT course he described his approach *‘I’ll give it everything I’ve got like I always do... So, I came in and actually I’ve enjoyed the experience, I’ve enjoyed the job and I quite like teaching and instructing’* (Alan, lines 923-927). This demonstrates Alan’s developed RN habitus as he was accepting of the imposition of the new role as well as using previous structured experiences to develop structure to move him forward. However, as he has learnt throughout his career, that *‘giving it everything you’ve got’* through pedagogic labour does bring perceived benefits. Alan did speak of the enjoyment he has when working with the phase 1 recruits and may not have happened if he had not undertaken the DTTT course in the first instance. So, although he was unable to return to his previous job, his new role provides him with more opportunities and benefits. Significantly, it is the pastoral aspects of the new role that form a large part of his narrative. This is where his vast experience of the Royal Navy comes to the fore and reinforces the distinction and credibility of being a LH instructor amongst the other POs and CPOs.

## Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have examined the narrative data through the lens of Bourdieu's theories. As discussed in the theoretical framework, these theories are relational and therefore the analysis has considered the whole narrative rather than parts of the story. One of the emergent themes I have referred to is the development of a RN habitus, the embodiment of a particular and distinctive set of capitals and dispositions that are required to have a successful career in the Royal Navy. My argument is that it is more than just another secondary habitus and it becomes so well developed and embedded it actually becomes a new primary habitus.

My analysis shows the development of a RN habitus through traineeship. The three components required for a successful traineeship feature within the narratives in varying degrees. For example, Roger, Oliver and Norman seemed to have quickly assimilated the affective component but found the conative a bit more troublesome. Lesley could assimilate the cognitive and the conative but found the affective part difficult until she encountered a change in the field conditions. Yvette appeared to find all three components difficult but eventually she goes on to have a similarly rewarding career as the others. And this theme was repeated across all nine respondents in varying degrees.

As the respondents' narratives developed they demonstrated a growing awareness of the RN habitus and how they fitted into it starting with the internalisation of the core values within the institutional habitus. From their primary habitus, they developed a

RN habitus. Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) talk of the habitus as enduring but not fixed. This suggests that given the right field conditions and opportunity it can change either over time or through other influential events, or a combination of both. I argue that the Royal Navy provides the conditions and opportunity for the individual to develop their habitus through traineeship. This is quite specific to the Royal Navy in terms of field, the development and accumulations of capitals and their embodiment resulting in a RN habitus.

The development of the RN habitus is different to just another or secondary habitus developed through traineeship as suggested by Wacquant (2015). Bourdieu (1984) contends that a habitus is the product of primary socialisations developed through familial and educational experiences. If the conditions that led to the development of the primary habitus were recreated within the Royal Navy and occur in an integrated and structured way, then I suggest that this moves it beyond developing just another secondary habitus so it actually becomes the primary one. The conditions that developed the habitus are replicated and thus the 'new' habitus is likely to be just as enduring rather than the transposable and relatively short-lived one that Wacquant (2015) proposes.

The notion of the institutional habitus and the way it permeates and influences the process and pattern of choice making is in evidence as well. It makes some choices unthinkable, other possible and yet other routine (Bourdieu 1984). In the initial stages the choices are largely influenced by the respondents' previous experiences, usually schools or other educational establishments. Once the individual starts to assimilate

the expressive order and the organisational practices of the existing institutional habitus, the pattern of choice making is influenced by the Royal Navy. It still follows the unthinkable, possible and routine choices but I argue it places expectations that make the unthinkable possible, the possible routine and to not do the routine as unthinkable. But this is dictated by the Royal Navy and only when the individual has proven that they have developed the RN habitus can they begin to challenge or possibly change some components within the institutional habitus. The process continues always tending to lag behind the few that want rapid change.

Most of the respondents talked of difficulty as part of their transition from civilian to Royal Navy personnel. However, nobody talked about going back to their former life even though they all know they will eventually have to. Of those interviewed, Victor and Norman have both left the Royal Navy relatively recently and they both talked of their new work colleagues as 'civvies'. This suggests that the development of a new secondary habitus through traineeship, that of becoming a civilian, is not progressing at quite the pace it did when they became Royal Navy personnel. From my own experience of leaving the military, navigating the field and trying to establish structure and order of the civilian world within its own distinctive institutional habitus was at times very demanding. This resulted in a loss of a coherent sense of self. After two years and several job changes, I returned to the military environment albeit as a civilian, where I felt very much at home. Jolly (1996:84-120) highlights the common theme of difficulty in adjusting to the civilian world. She presents several cases where individuals have left the services and found employment within the wider uniformed



public sector or in the Civil Service. These are areas where the institutional habitus and the expressive order would at least be relatively familiar and require less adaption than other institutions.

Both Norman and Victor have been in the Royal Navy longer than they were civilians and their primary habitus was formed as a result of their upbringing. I propose that the unique context of the Royal Navy, new familial and educational socialisations plus the internalisation of the core values of the institutional habitus and the length of time served has changed their individual habitus. The process of traineeship and the development of a RN habitus over such a long time has resulted in this becoming their primary one.

What is of note is how the primary habitus did not feature particularly prominently in the respondents' narratives. Bourdieu contends that the agent's habitus and dispositions will shape and influence their future actions. Therefore, one would expect that those respondents that came from families that have strong military connections would somehow be better equipped to deal with the transition and subsequent career in the Royal Navy. However, the respondent data did not support this in an overt and coherent way. There were occasional mentions of family members who had influenced their initial choice of career through their guiding hand or stories of travel and adventure. The analysis of the data suggests once an individual has joined the Royal Navy it is those that hold power that shape and influence the choices they make. In many ways, the more experienced and superior ranks take on the familial role of the

parent and guardian as typified by Yvette calling herself a 'sea mum' and Roger and Andrew talking of 'sea dads'.

The notion of distinction is well embedded within the social space of the Royal Navy. As Yan's narrative suggests the Royal Navy has status and this makes it a desirable organisation to work for. Through the rank structure, individuals are able to recognise the distinctive elements of legitimisation such as different uniforms, physical location and particular ways of presenting oneself. These positions confer prestige and are better paid. Through these choices within the institutional habitus, they are encouraged to aspire towards attaining these positions of rank as it is a form of institutionalised cultural capital. The similarity of the accumulations of cultural capital results in a distinctive group that shares similar outlooks, dispositions and sense of place in the world as Bourdieu (1977 and 1985) has argued.

When joining the Royal Navy, all people start from a common point. This is in contrast to people joining civilian organisations at various levels and often with different values and skills. Their affective dimension will take time to develop as will their orientation to the organisational processes of this institutional habitus. Whilst undoubtedly this approach adds variety and drives change it also means that the social space can become fractured and lose its coherence. However, the apprenticeship that civilian organisations use does bear similarities to that of the Royal Navy. Although it is usually associated with the more traditional vocational areas of employment (such as for example, engineering, hairdressing, construction) there is an upsurge in the use of

apprenticeship frameworks in less traditional areas such as health care, business administration, pharmacy, public health etc. (BIS 2015, Richard 2012 and FES 2016). This does enable the employer to grow and shape the apprentice, inculcating core values and beliefs in a similar way that the Royal Navy does with its recruits. I suggest that the institutional habitus of the Royal Navy does provide a degree of flexibility for individuals to make changes but also acknowledge that it is less accommodating of any upward change. The next chapter discusses examples of where change is required but the processes and procedures meant that it didn't always happen.

Linked to this idea of a new career or family is Bourdieu's notion of *habitus clivé*. Nearly all the respondents, both male and female, talked of difficulty in the early days of joining the Royal Navy. They talk of homesickness and particular personal hurdles to overcome whilst wanting to fit institutional processes of the Royal Navy culture. Roger and Andrew make particular mention of not wanting to be seen as a 'mummy's boy'. Yvette explains how she hated every part of initial training. This suggests that a tension between wanting to become a member of the Royal Navy, assimilating the expressive order and institutional processes, and the reality of initial training can lead to the loss of a coherent sense of self, in short occupying two different locations of self can be very destabilising. Bourdieu (1990) and Reay (2015) both argue that this leads to a lack of integration of disparate experiences and unresolved internal conflicts. However, Bourdieu (1990) argues this can be resolved through a unifying experience such as the one that Royal Navy training can provide. So paradoxically the Royal Navy is the cause

and cure of the lack of coherent self and provides new kinship ties and a new family. It leads the individual to have a sense of occupying two locations of self but it also provides the unifying experiences through a trajectory of possibilities (Bourdieu 1990). If the Royal Navy provided the agents with a unifying experience does it create tension between the agent's familial roots and their current habitus as Bourdieu's (2010) notion of *clivé* would suggest?

The data does not explicitly support this notion as there was little evidence from respondents to leave the Royal Navy and go back to the life they once had. Indeed, it almost unanimously supported Friedman (2015) and Milburn's (2013) argument that *clivé* is a benevolent force, supporting upward social economic mobility. No respondent mentioned the desire to leave the Royal Navy and go back to their previous civilian life although they will eventually have to. The difficulties some military personnel encounter during this re-join to the civilian world are well documented (Jolly 1996:9-11). She quotes work done by Marris (1986) who talks of individuals having a strong desire or impulse to go back to what is known

'[as it] seems in retrospect to be a haven of security and meaningful satisfactions; or to realise at once a new self...Each impulse provokes its painful reaction: the attempt to revive the past only exposes its decay; the pursuit of the future leads to humiliating frustrations and bewilderment, and sense of betrayal of his true identity. The conflict cannot be resolved, but only worked out'

(Marris 1986 cited in Jolly 1996)

This is akin and similar to the notion of *habitus clivé* where the strong desire to return to what is lost cannot ever be realised. As Marris suggests the loss, disengagement and resocialisation has to be worked through in order to move forward.

Roger seems to have resolved the sense of *habitus clivé* through a symbolic act of revisiting his school in uniform to announce the arrival of the new Roger. He also worked out that portraying the right persona and not being seen as a 'mummy's boy' was the right thing to do now he was in what could be portrayed as the grown-up world. Bourdieu would contend that *habitus clivé* can never be fully resolved. But for Roger this degree of separation was quite close so some form of resolution was sufficient for him to move on. Moreover, his close school friend would almost certainly be a source of support and inspiration.

Andrew had conative problems to overcome. He was simply not strong enough to complete various aspects of training. These are not going to be overcome quickly and this caused him to lose a coherent sense of self. He wanted to do it but he was physically unable to. This led to feelings of despair and a sense of failure. However, the training teams saw that at least he was determined and willing to try and these are attributes that the Royal Navy value. It also highlighted dogged determination which developed as a result of phase 1 training. The theoretical framework would suggest that this was already within him but perhaps had not been tested to this degree until this point. But from a perspective of *habitus clivé* the loss of a coherent

sense of self was almost certainly a contributory factor and something to be overcome in order to develop his career.

Arguably, Victor and Norman have gone through at least two traineeships, joining the Royal Navy and then leaving to become civilians. The loss of kinship ties was a feature within their narratives when they got to the point where they discuss leaving the Royal Navy. As they described their attempts to reconcile this they used words and expressions that highlighted the difference between their new career and their old one. They referred to their new colleagues as 'civvies' even though they are themselves 'civvies'. They drew upon their internalised core values (punctuality, smartness, loyalty, and honesty) which are second nature to them but are valued by their employers.

The institutional habitus permeates the process and pattern of choice making of individuals. As an institution, the Royal Navy relies upon the notion of distinction to promote aspiration and drive performance, whilst at the same time creating cohesion at all levels. This aspect is examined in more depth in the next chapter. The institutional habitus drives aspiration through division, particularly through the promotion criteria, though the way it is transmitted to the next generation is largely unstated and not explicitly written down. Yet it is these divisions that drives individuals to aspire to reach the highest levels of achievement in their careers.



## **Chapter 5 Creating Aspiration Through Division: The Royal Navy as a symbolically violent organisation**

In this chapter I examine the notion of symbolic violence and how the Royal Navy uses it to create aspiration through division. This is largely influenced by the institutional habitus and the process and pattern of choice making discussed in the last chapter. How this notion of creating aspiration through division is achieved and the processes that support it are explored. Central to symbolic violence is the asymmetry of power relations, and the way this is misrecognised. Dominated groups *misrecognise* the asymmetry of power as the natural way of things and unwittingly submit to and engage in their own domination through the mediation of the institutional habitus. However, in this chapter I contend that, for those in the Royal Navy, it can provide structure and support the development of those that might not have had that opportunity, supporting the finding within the last chapter of choice making where the unthinkable becomes the possible, the possible the routine and not doing the routine unthinkable. The Royal Navy inculcates the core values and beliefs through the doxa and then rewards those that aspire to attain them. Individuals make strategic choices and develop their habitus in order to align it with the doxa. By creating these divided and stratified field conditions those with a developing or developed RN habitus are able to engage in pedagogic labour for the perceived benefit. The more successful are rewarded through promotion and then form the dominant rank structure.

The Royal Navy as a symbolically violent organisation is a contentious term to use, particularly following the Blake (2006) report of the Deepcut enquiry into training methods used within Phase 1 & 2 of Army training and its duty of care to young



trainees. In this report, there were numerous reports of physical abuse and humiliation of recruits undertaking phase 1&2 training. However, in this research the term does not actually denote such forms of verbal humiliation or physical violence but rather acts of dominance or power over an individual or groups. As a reminder from chapter 2, Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) contend that through pedagogical labour the dominated

‘Indirectly collaborate in the dominance of the dominant classes e.g. the inculcation by the dominated pedagogic agents of knowledge, or styles whose values on the economic or symbolic market is defined by the dominant.  
(Bourdieu and Passeron 1977:7-8)

The power the Royal Navy exerts over personnel is embedded within the doxa and there is an expectation that individuals engage in pedagogic labour in order to meet the institutionally defined cultural capital. The cultural arbitrary forms part of the organisational processes within the institutional habitus. The enthusiasm or personal effort individuals are prepared to put in to develop their habitus in the pursuit of attaining the cultural arbitrary and closing the gap between it and the doxa is referred to as *illusio*. Those that understand the link between their habitus and prevailing doxa do well through enthusiastically engaging in pedagogic labour.

### **The maintenance of the Royal Navy doxa**

The notion of doxa and ‘the relations of order...as they are accepted as self-evident’ (Bourdieu 2010:473) was a common theme throughout the participants’ narratives. Contained within the doxa is the institutionally defined state of cultural capital. This is

what the Royal Navy deem as markers of their core values. This allows the institution to select, recruit, promote and develop an individual partly through influencing the process and pattern of choice making. The individual acquires the culture through replication and assimilation of experiences and external influences, often unconsciously much of which is within the institutional habitus. It is within this embodied state of cultural capital that doxa becomes embedded and 'cannot be stated for the lack of available discourse' (Deer 2008:120). The doxa is tacitly understood by those with sufficient accumulations of capitals embodied within their habitus. Those that are sufficiently imbued with the RN habitus develop the next generation. They reproduce the institutional habitus and thus their experiences are used to make changes within the existing institutional order. The doxa and the adherence to it is the cornerstone of the field as it acts as the boundary and adds solidity and stability to structures within the organisation. This is how organisations reproduce themselves.

The process of embodiment of social capital starts during phase one or initial training. The respondents all talked of some difficulty they had during the initial phases of training when getting to grips with the way the Royal Navy likes things to be done or organisational processes of the existing institutional habitus. Much of what is required during the initial stages of training is unquestioned and accepted as the Royal Navy way and is largely alien and particular to the organisation, marching, language, clothing, kit husbandry and correct storage, restrictions on free time and other personal freedoms. These imposed cultural arbitraries form the doxa as instructors will justify the particularity of the way the Royal Navy wants things done in terms of life on

board ship, on operations, or replication of how they were taught. To go against the doxa would be seen as heterodoxical and *could* disadvantage the individual. This is where to not do the routine is unthinkable. However, as I will show in this chapter it is possible to give the appearance of working within the doxa whilst simultaneously working to change it using the strategy of the double game (Lamaison and Bourdieu 1986). This is where the individual 'feeds up' and can begin to change the institutional habitus.

There are other indicators of doxa and *illusio* within the data as well. The respondents' narratives all contained instances where they have just accepted incidents without question. There were also examples where individuals have embarked on deliberate strategies and made choices that involved short term discomfort in return for the long-term benefits so that the unthinkable could actually be possible. There were references to the active pursuit of drafts (postings) for their perceived rewards and benefits. This was achieved by an individual volunteering to do a less than favourable draft (see glossary-p250) in return for a more favourable one afterwards but doing it in a seemingly enthusiastic way: this illustrates *illusio* and enacting the double game (Lamaison & Bourdieu 1986:113).

There was very little mention in the data of the arbitrary nature of the doxa and its imposition or its role in maintaining an asymmetry of power. This would seem at first a slightly odd finding. After all, in such an overtly hierarchical organisation such as the Royal Navy you would expect that individuals at the lower end of the rank structure

would be very aware of the relations of order and power relationships. The evidence suggests that they are tacitly aware of the hierarchy but, crucially, they are completely accepting of it as Bourdieu (2010) argues. Indeed, they perpetuate it further through pedagogic labour in return for perceived benefit (status, rank, mercantile etc.). For example, Victor's narrative was full of trials and tribulations undertaken such as courses undertaken and unwelcome drafts in order to secure the next promotion. Each of these requires further pedagogic labour in order to secure the perceived benefits. Pedagogic labour is a form of symbolic violence and therefore is misrecognised. Like many of the other respondents, Victor was willing to engage in this as it led to promotion. Through the application of symbolic violence, some will achieve and others will not.

In the respondents' narratives, there was a noticeable difference in how they engaged with the doxa: some were able to see it very quickly and developed strategies to achieve it. In other words, it becomes embodied and they 'got it' and were prepared to work hard to achieve it as the benefits were worth it to them; others were less adept. I argue this was the start of their traineeship and the development of the RN habitus.

There was evidence that suggested the respondents have understood the prevailing doxa and are able to navigate it successfully. If we revisit the previously used passage from Victor

*I don't know, without being exact, there's probably about 1,000 or so sailors going through training at that time, probably one of very few ethnic background sailors so I found it [...] it wasn't a problem to me then, because I'd come from school where I was, you know, the only ethnic kid in my school*

*anyway, so that wasn't a problem for me'. 'Yes, in comparison to nowadays it's massively changed. But there was a certain amount of bullying within training back then, and even though it was nothing sort of physical, there was perhaps quite a bit of mental sort of bullying going on, which can be, which was said at the time as having a laugh and high jinks and stuff, and it's one of the things you get used to when being in the forces. So, I did'.*

*(Victor, lines 42-57)*

This suggests that there was some form of racially motivated bullying going on but he used the embodied capitals he had accumulated in his previous experiences to find a way through. He could have complained but he had developed strategies to deal with it and get on with it. He put up with it as he felt that being in the Royal Navy was worth the investment.

The institutional forms of racial bullying are well recognised as is Victor's way of dealing with it. The Royal Navy along with the other two services and public bodies have worked to reduce the type of bullying that Victor experienced through greater awareness and a zero-tolerance approach. To some extent progress has been made with this aspect and this is supported by the longitudinal data in AFCAS (2016). But as a conservative organisation it can take time to enact and become habitualised. Oliver, who is a Black Afro-Caribbean, joined several years after Victor, made no mention or intimation to do with bullying or other racially motivated incidents. This is not conclusive evidence of progress but I would have expected that given the nature of the other personal disclosures Oliver made he would have made some form of remark or intimation regarding racially motivated bullying.

For those that have been through Phase 1 training there is an overwhelming sense of 'putting up with it' as it is the way things are done, and always have been, and it's taken for granted; it's the doxa. The structure with its rules, terrain wrapped up in the organisational practices of the institutional habitus invite you to express personal agency by, through choice, accepting the rules of the dominant structure.

Whilst doxa is considered to be at a subconscious or unstated level, illusio is a conscious act in which agency and structure are strategized. It is competitive and involves social positioning in the field. It is the degree of fit between their habitus and the dominant doxa, and their enthusiasm to close the gap. In lines 58-67, Victor suggested that phase 1 instruction was a simple case of doing what you are told and wasn't particularly technical or demanding. But he also added the following '*but I came from a strict background anyway so I didn't find training difficult*' (Victor: 69-70). His previous experiences, or habitus, were providing him with the strategies in which to manage the present situation he was in.

Within the Royal Navy there are well-established groups of individuals. These groups are established along lines of specialisation e.g. Gunners or Engineers. On board a ship there will also be mess decks. Each mess deck will consist of several different specialisation or trades. It is this form of specialisation and mess deck grouping that the Royal Navy uses to create rivalry and internal competition in order to drive efficiency and improve standards on board ship. Norman was aware that the gunners branch that he joined was itself distinctive group (in Bourdieusian terms) within the

Royal Navy. During the initial stages of his Royal Navy training he started to develop a greater understanding of the doxa and more importantly you can start to see his illusion as well. The gap between his current position and his desire to become a member of the distinctive group and the perceived rewards that accompany it were well worth investing his time and effort in order to close the gap would have influenced his process decision-making. This suggests that a quite well-established hierarchy is already in existence, based upon a historical precedent underlining that an institutional habitus has an existing history and ethos. It is self-referenced by the group and judged against their self-generated standards of conduct and it is they who say they are the best. They have cultivated their own social distinction as suggested by Bourdieu (1984). However, the gunnery branch members' view of their status may not be shared by the other specialisations within the Royal Navy. The Royal Navy makes use of this internal rivalry and competition to push people to achieve even more. The Royal Navy is a part of the armed services, a distinctive group with its own particular identity and distinctiveness. Whilst there may be struggles between specialisations within a single service, and between the three services, there exists a distinction between them and the public. Thus, there are groups within groups each with its own history and ethos developed over time and manifest within its own group habitus. These sub-groups are full of specific cultural and legitimisation references that constitute the 'in-group' and therefore are distinctive.

When he explained his experiences of recruit training Norman draws a clear distinction based upon age and position within the group and the act of subordination based upon these distinctions;

*when you're that little bit older you know a bit more common sense rather than gobbing off you sort of stand there and right okay, I'll take that but then you get the younger ones that think they know it all and chirp off and then wonder why they get into trouble.*

*(Norman, Lines 505-509)*

The narrative suggests that he has internalised the habitus and distinction of what it is to be a gunner in the Royal Navy; it has become embodied. Norman conceptualised a gunner as being a bit different and a cut above the rest. A discrete sub-group that he perceived as being better than the rest of the Royal Navy. Significantly most of the respondents felt that their particular sub-group, or specialisation, were the best. But this is the rivalry that also enables the various groups to coalesce into a single effective team when they are threatened by an outside force.

We also start to see the development of Norman's RN habitus and capitals. In lines 505-509, Norman was referring to phase 1 training but there is evidence of adaption to, and internalisation of the training regime and core values he encounters in phase 2.

*But the instructors there although they used to bawl and shout which is the way instructors were then, they still cajoled you into getting the best out of you and you trying to achieve what you needed to achieve. And the end result was yes, I did pass out from HMS Raleigh to become a missileman/gunner.... joining HMS Cambridge, the gunners branch and missileman was again a very strict place, very instructor led and the gunners were seen as being a sort of cut above the rest in terms of the way they handled themselves so you aspired to be what they were. And again, that training was hard and again the instructors were*



*fair and again got the best out of everybody that they needed to and most people did achieve the grade and get out of training to join their first ship.*

*(Norman, Lines 38-58)*

His instructors provided the image or role to which he then aspired to. His accumulation of capitals enabled him to assimilate, fit in and succeed with the training regime. It also shows how the doxa is preserved through replication and imitation. The RN habitus is preserved through the unconscious replication and the pursuit of tastes and desires through the internalisation of their social position and competition. As Bourdieu suggests

‘Culture is at stake which, like all social stakes, simultaneously presupposes and demands that one takes part in the game (*illusio*-my addition) and be taken in by it; and interest in culture, without which there is no race, no competition, is produced by the very race and competition it produces. The value of culture, the supreme fetish, is generated in the initial investment implied by the mere fact of entering the game, joining in the collective belief in the value of the game which makes the game and endlessly remakes the competition for the stakes’.

*(Bourdieu 1984:247)*

In Norman’s case, he accepted without question that this is how it is done. He then set about his training to become a gunner with enthusiasm and reverence to the gunner tradition and camaraderie. Through systematic misrecognition, symbolic violence exerts its self upon people. As he progressed through the ranks he made choices that were mediated by the existing institutional habitus. This illustrates perhaps the more formal way the organisation’s habitus changes but at a slower pace than some would like such as Roger discusses.

Roger is an example to illustrate Bourdieu's (1990) notion of a theory of practice. What is of particular note is he recognised the arbitrary nature of the doxa but he still entered into it with enthusiasm, *illusio* and made choices in order to close the gap between it and his *habitus*. During phase 1 and 2 of training, Roger seemed to have internalised the core values, understood the expressive order and processes of the institutional *habitus* and subsequently developed his RN *habitus* quite quickly. But there were moments when his dispositions were severely tested.

In terms of his developing RN *habitus*, Roger was able to use his growing understanding of the Royal Navy and the particularity of the submarine service to rationalise his relative lowly position. He was able to think in the longer term and make appropriate choices to realise them. This is particularly noticeable when he was at a low ebb in his career (Roger, line 109-150) and completing his initial submarine training.

*'...because you are the lowest of the low on a submarine once you've joined it as in any military newbie I suppose. So again, I went from 'what have I done, I don't really want to do this, I'm lonely, I'm on my own' when you're not, it's just a training process and they're just toughening you up basically.*

*(Roger Lines 111-114)*

This illustrates where the institutional *habitus* can make the impossible, possible and drive aspiration.

An essential part of becoming a submariner and maintaining this position requires individuals to understand how the various systems work and interact on board the submarine. This is both from a theoretical and practical perspective. It culminates with

an intensive assessment. For many would-be submariners, it emphasises and essentialises what it is to be in the submariner branch

*... 'so, you have to know it pretty much all like every submariner from the captain down. That's why I didn't feel too bad about it towards the end, because I knew everyone else was going through the process. I wasn't the only one on board doing it, but that element of training was certainly the most difficult out of all I've experienced. And I ended up getting presented.... Once you have passed that then you are awarded your Dolphins which is every submariner's point, that's what they are trying to achieve at the end of the day when they join training... apart from the birth of my children it's probably the proudest moment of my life'*

*(Roger Lines 134-150)*

Through replication and assimilation, he was developing embodied cultural capital.

This enabled him to close the gap between the doxa and his habitus. The next time he undertakes this type of training it becomes easier as he is better able to see it for what it is (see Roger, lines 65-85 overleaf). Moreover, the particularity of the submarine branch adds yet more pressure to conform and it further demonstrates how individuals engage in pedagogic labour to attain status and prestige.

Also, through these lines there is evidence of the cognitive and affective components of the RN habitus developing further and a strategy in which he could accumulate symbolic capital, which in this case were his 'Dolphins'. 'Dolphins' are a small brooch worn on the uniform that all qualified submariners wear to indicate that they are members of the Submarine Branch of the Royal Navy. The Dolphins are a form of symbolic capital and an indication of distinction (Bourdieu 1984 and 1990). As members of the submarine service they receive additional pay but they are members of an exclusive sub-group within the Royal Navy. The process of becoming a member is

rooted in the professionalisation (Hoyle and John 1995) of the branch. The branch controls specialist knowledge and creates a particular identity to highlight their exclusivity.

As a trainee submariner, he will occupy two different social spaces (similar to that of Norman) that is, the Royal Navy and its sub set, the Submarine Branch. Due to Roger going straight to the submarine service from recruit training, his new Royal Navy kinship and familial ties were still developing. But he still had a sense of belonging to the wider Royal Navy as he certainly was not a submariner yet and this would have been made very clear to him at the submarine training school. He was being tested by his submariner training but also, he was also going to be joining at the very bottom rank of a different social order and drawing on a subtly different affective dimension embedded within the sub-group's institutional habitus.

By drawing on his accumulated capitals, as well as the cognitive, conative and affective components of his developing RN habitus, he was able to develop his career by making appropriate choices that were influenced by the institutional habitus of that sub-group. He does seem, at this point, unconsciously aware of doxa and his illusio is present in lines 65-85 in terms of just accepting that this is what he had to do to be a submariner.

*...I traced all the systems as a good old submariner does to learn it all..... I enjoyed it there, once I settled in at [redacted], again it was just settling in, it was like trying on a new pair of shoes I'd imagine, you get used to it after a while. All of you are in the same situation, the guys you're with, we had an eight-man class then whereas at Raleigh you were in a 30, 40-man mess with other trainees. So, it was a little more close knit, helped each other out. They*

*obviously did that on purpose, they keep you in small groups because as a submariner you're going to be in that environment anyway and it all starts from day one.*

*(Roger Lines 65-85)*

His narrative was full of reflexive comments that suggest he was quickly able to assimilate the situation and strategise his choices for personal benefit. He talked of his initial realisation of the longer-term implications of his career.

*'...knowing that I was going to be doing this for a considerably long time potentially, I started to enjoy it quite a lot and because I was enjoying it, I found it relatively simple to progress'*

*(Roger lines 88-91)*

Through this approach, he was able to develop a strategy at the time in terms of benefit in the longer term. This does suggest that reflexivity is a form of capital that is a result of mediation between the field, the institutional habitus and the agent's habitus (and dispositions) and therefore is an integral part of Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu 1990:53 and Maton 2008:51). What was not questioned is the doxa, it was merely accommodated and accepted highlighting that it was tacitly understood by those with sufficient accumulations of embodied capitals.

Even when he was at low ebbs (*Roger lines 109-150*) he was able to think in the longer term and rationalise his predicament. Within his narrative there was evidence of a RN habitus developing further and a strategy in which he could maximise benefit in this case his 'Dolphins'. It would mark the end of this phase of his traineeship as he had *become* a submariner and a member of the previously closed off social group which

was identified as having distinction within the wider Royal Navy. Roger achieved this through an application of theory to practice.

*So again, I went from 'what have I done, I don't really want to do this, I'm lonely, I'm on my own' when you're not, it's just a training process and they're just toughening you up basically. Out of all the three; the basic training, the submarine training at [redacted] and [systems] training, that was probably the toughest because you were pretty much left to get on with it in your own time, to get qualified in those 12 weeks that you had to get your Dolphins, do your task book..... So, it took me eight weeks in all to get qualified.*

*(Roger Lines 110-118)*

The lines above suggested a realisation that this was a process and his illusion for getting on with training and closing the gap to obtain his Dolphins saw him through it. The proximity between his primary and developing RN habitus would appear to be quite close as it seemed that the transition from a Royal Navy rating to submariner seems to have gone reasonably well for him taking 4 weeks less than the norm. But as always in the Royal Navy, the end of one traineeship is usually greeted with the beginning of another one. Having mastered the submariner part, he now had to develop his specialist skills required to perform his role.

Andrew's initial submarine training was similar to that of Roger, although Andrew readily admits he had very little prior understanding of important concepts such as hydraulics, compressors and nuclear reactors. He says that they were never taught the principles behind them and this made it difficult. However, reflectively he says

*[But] you learn that yourself over time just through general inquisitiveness. And I feel as if they taught you the principles of that sort of thing you would get it a lot quicker. But the other side of that is it would take longer. So, that's a problem*

*(Andrew, lines 90-93)*

This is typical of Andrew's story where he was able to highlight the issue and a solution but then situate it in the reality of the institutional habitus as he understands it. If this places tension on the way things are then he will conform, demonstrating how his cultural capital is becoming embodied and how the institution influences the process of his decision-making. But the important thing is that he was able to recognise this as he progressed through his career drawing upon these experiences to work around problems as he adapted to the field. The way he appeared to conform but is actually looking at ways to improve are an example of the double game. It is through this process similar to Roger and Norman that they 'feed up' to the organisation, inform and change practice.

Both Roger and Andrew seemed to be tacitly aware of the doxa, but feel powerless to change it due to their perceived low status and the power and dominance the Royal Navy exerts over its personnel. This power and dominance is vested within the rank structure and those that have displayed the requisite cultural capital within the RN habitus will be promoted through the ranks to a position of power and dominance. So, in order to change it they must engage in it and make appropriate choices to obtain a position of power and dominance. This growing sense of self-awareness was coming to the fore, as exemplified by Roger

*But again, it just adds to everything, it adds to your knowledge bank, your appreciation of how other people live, etc., because not all of them are great places that we went to. But it definitely added to the experience, the places I've seen. We did some hard trips as well; we did a nine-month deployment down the Falklands...there was a lot of sea time. We got to [redacted] which as anybody who has been down there can tell you isn't amazing, but it's better than nothing. It was on [redacted] if I'm honest that...because I was quite an experienced AB at that point that I had guys under me that I was training as*

*well. I could see now how I was being treated, but the way I was treated was quite bad I think on [redacted] when I first joined because you had a lot of very old school guys who were taught under their career and you were spoken to like a piece of crap. I've never got that in all my time in the military, because I just think it's counter-productive. There are situations where you need to shout and scream at people...if there's a fire...and they will react to that because of their training, you're just helping each other out. But when it comes to the sort of one on one, it never works in my opinion and I've always had that attitude all the way up until the position I'm in now as an instructor at [redacted]. And the stuff I've done at university, etc. and the Cert Ed and the stuff I've learnt through research and reading and submitted essays, etc., it's just all added into that. From very early on I thought it was an extremely counter-productive way of training people and unfortunately there are people still in the navy today that do train that way. There are few of them that have slipped through the net. But yes, so on [redacted] I got a taste for it and that's why I was a Sea Dad for a lot of the lads, my chief would send them to me and I'd train them. The way I did it I think helped them out a lot more than other guys who couldn't be bothered I suppose. But my attitude was the fact that this guy could save our lives, any member of the ship's company is in that position anyway. You've got to take time to train these guys correctly,*

*(Roger, lines 208-244)*

Here Roger explained that every trip or new boat adds to the ‘*knowledge bank; your appreciation of how other people live*’ demonstrating an affective awareness. But there was also rise in heterodoxical awareness as Roger becomes aware of better ways of doing things but was not in a position (yet) to do anything about it.

As part of becoming a qualified submariner, personnel must pass the systems exam.

This is where the individual must demonstrate their familiarity with the systems and their operation on board a particular boat. Traditionally, this has been quite tough and uncompromising training in which the trainee has to go to the various parts of the boat and identify the variety of components and systems, as dictated by their task book.

This is not easy and department staff can be less than helpful and almost wilfully make it difficult or impossible. This maintains the asymmetry of power and privileges the few



in terms of internalisation of the core values of the institutional habitus. Their accumulated capitals bring benefit to them, maintaining the doxa. Through replication and assimilation, it is a way of ensuring that only the most committed and adaptable get to serve in the submarine service and thus their relative status and privileges are preserved. Both Roger and Andrew talked of instances when they were told to go away and come back on another watch. This is usually a replication of how the qualified submariners were treated when they were training and thus the process is, in many respects, a reproduction of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Through the embodied state of cultural capital, the department staff see themselves as the arbiters of culture or gatekeepers of what they think is required. They maintain their social positioning through the imposition of the cultural arbitrary. This is in the form directing the content and the specific way activities and drills are carried out. For example, in the previous quote (Roger lines 208-244) Roger explains how his submarine systems exam was partly the technical aspect of the systems and the rest was confronting or working around the gatekeepers or arbiters of culture. In short, they had the power to determine if Roger could continue as a submariner or not. Therefore, the submariner is required to develop these skills through pedagogic labour as he or she has to invest significant effort to gain the credentials that will close the gap and provide benefit. Thus, the imposition of pedagogic labour is seen as symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977: 7-8). What is of note in Roger's narrative is that he recognises that, whilst this is what has to be done, he is also able to identify the misrecognition that accompanies symbolic violence. Here we see a distinct change in Roger as he was suggesting a heterodoxical alternative to the 'old school' approach to

professional development dictated by the institutional habitus. He was questioning the harsh and perceived counter-productive approach that was being taken by various members of the boat. He is questioning the 'unthinkable' and saying that it just might be possible to pass the systems exam without being harsh and counter-productive. This was quite a realisation considering the relatively low status that he holds (AB) within the hierarchy. There was a sense of a rigid doxa (this is how it has always been done-the institutional habitus) and the accumulation of capitals which are required and developed to overcome the difficulties, but Roger also recognised the required adaptation.

As if to reinforce his alternative view, Roger completed the narrative about how, as an AB, he was developing other trainees and was seen as a Sea Dad. He starts the next sentence within his narrative by saying that his Chief Petty Officer (CPO-see glossary-p249) would send personnel to him for training. This suggests his Chief has recognised Roger's skill at developing others and thus sees promotion prospects. Therefore, in Roger's associative gestalt, training, development, recognition, promotion and the choices he made were linked. The proximity and substance of this suggests that to Roger one is synonymous with the other; development and promotion.

In a similar way, Andrew talked of meeting a pivotal and important person in his career, Finbarr Saunders (*name changed*) who was his instructor. In his lived life data form (see appendix 4), Andrew mentioned Finbarr as "*the guy who threw the ISPEC (instructional specification-see glossary-251) away*" and he saw him as some sort of

maverick instructor. Andrew described him as a bit of a visionary and well ahead of his time. Andrew excitedly described Finbarr's maverick actions within his narrative

*But luckily the course manager we had completely went against the ISPEC and basically threw it in the bin, and said right okay, this ISPEC I think is rubbish, you're my last course, no, no, no, you're my first course, because he'd just got here. And he said I'm going to teach you how I would expect you to be as a Petty Officer on board my submarine. You know, so as my second in command this is what I would want you to know. And he sort of taught us on a wing and prayer and we learned a lot more from it. And any time that he didn't take the lesson and we were back into the ISPEC, we just felt as though we were stagnating. And this was really at the time where it was just PowerPoint-tastic and you were like I'm not getting anything out of this. You're not telling me anything I don't know, you're not making me better at my job, you're not giving me any sort of understanding or anything like that. And you're not arming me with the tools I'm going to need when I get back to my unit.*

*(Andrew, Lines 246-256)*

but on reflection says

*"in hindsight, not the right thing to do. If he had followed the proper channels, the ISPEC would have been changed A LOT SOONER (his emphasis), meaning all students who attended this course after me would have benefited from an improved course"*

*(Andrew, Lived life data form).*

This highlights Andrew's commitment to the doxa whilst recognising that heterodoxical actions are an important part of development. However, as part of an overall strategy for improvement and benefit, Andrew was trying to utilise his knowledge of the internal organisational systems to highlight the need for change but also recognising that the doxa embedded within the organisational practices can prevent it. In this case, the phrase 'followed the proper channels' is a reference to the doxa and the way things are done. Andrew doesn't actually challenge the 'proper channels' themselves

rather he enthusiastically adapts his practice to accommodate them without altering the doxa.

This is also a particularly important illustration of how the organisational processes and the expressive order of the institutional habitus can restrict and slow down the pace of change. Although the individuals constitute the institutional habitus it is the collective nature that can slow things down or indeed create inaction leading to what Andrew calls a maverick instructor but someone else in another organisation may see as a very simple and practical solution to a problem.

### **Illusio-enthusiasm for the game**

Lesley's story was somewhat different inasmuch as she seemed to have lost her enthusiasm for the game. It is worth giving a bit of background to her story as there are some clear examples of how the doxa and illusio relate to the concept of symbolic violence.

When Lesley started her Defence Instructional Techniques or DIT (see glossary-p249) course she says she had no opinion on her DIT course other than to say *'how am I going to enforce it'* (Lesley line 155) when instructing. Here she was referring to how she was going to put all the various requirements of a DIT lesson into place? This reflects a commonly held belief that the DIT course is formulaic and very prescriptive and there is no deviation from its format when delivering lessons. She describes her instructional ability as

*'[I] wasn't really that bad.... I can't say I really noticed a difference in myself and how I did it [instructing] I just became more confident because I enjoyed it and I knew my subject'*

*(Lesley, lines 166-171)*

But in Lines 174-191 she talked candidly about how being an instructor had helped her career when she was back on board a ship. She relished being the CPO or Chief's right hand man: the go to man. This 'change' of her gender, although subtle, shows how women unwittingly perform and endorse the hegemonic masculinity in order to be accepted. Indeed, for Lesley the acceptance and the sense of responsibility was a positive influence on her and she really enjoyed this.

*What was the instructing like at Phase Two? it was hard work because my subject, radar, is thoroughly boring to somebody who is not interested so trying to make radar interesting is quite difficult and it can wear you out a little bit but it's better to teach a full subject, [teaching] someone from the beginning to the end and then them coming out the other end with all this knowledge that you've given them that's how Phase One works in my opinion. But I suppose I didn't realise what Phase Two as an instructor had done to me, or done for me until I joined my next ship and I was the training coordinator on board for the warfare department, well I was again the right hand man of the Chief to a point and then I was sort of like took it on myself and that wasn't just instructing that was totally coordinating the whole lot, deciding what they were going to learn on a week to week basis, doing the programme and working it around the ship's programme*

*(Lesley, lines 174-191)*

It seemed that she had realised that being a PO comes with a lot of responsibility.

Lesley's RN habitus had developed and her early career strategy to become the 'Chief's right hand man: the go to man' had actually become realised.

It is around this point there was a significant change in her career. She admits that she had stopped enjoying it and it had become repetitive and ‘*very samey*’ (Lesley line 221); her *illusio* was in decline. She was running the ship’s training programme for her department and it had become very repetitive. She reflectively started to analyse it during the interview. She felt that it was the same type of ABs coming through and it felt like you were starting all over again. She also mentioned that she didn’t like the way the Royal Navy was going. In short, she had stopped enjoying it. It appears that there was a mismatch between her *habitus* and the field which required her to compromise deep-seated beliefs. As discussed in Chapter 2, an individual’s will and energy will be sapped as the overarching *doxa* exerts an invisible force of coercion and compliance. Despite having the responsibility she craved, she had become stale, bored and dispirited. She said that the only thing keeping her going was a strong sense of professionalism. She was experienced enough to recognise this and looked for a solution using her *habitus* and knowledge of the field. The institutional *habitus* was mediated her process decision-making. The organisational practices shaped her choices and decision to change her career trajectory.

The obvious thing was to leave the Royal Navy but she had become ensnared in the pension trap. She wanted to stay in the Royal Navy but needed to do something different. So, by deploying her accumulation of capitals (social capital) in a deliberate strategy, she made a distinct and positive choice to change the direction in her career. Through her contacts, Lesley volunteered to become a member of the Female Engagement Team (FET) and was deployed in Afghanistan.

Stabilisation Unit (2012) describe FET as part of the Military Stabilisation Support Group (MSSG). It is a programme which has been developed to enable the military to better engage with the local population in Afghanistan. In the more conservative provinces, many Afghan women are rarely seen by communities or communicate with people outside their family, particularly if the people are male. Therefore, male ISAF soldiers are unable to freely communicate with nearly 50% of the adult population. The FETs may have the potential to bridge this divide. McCullough (2012) goes on to say 'although not often seen by outsiders, they [Afghan Women] have considerable influence on their husbands, children and their community as a whole...and wives can influence their husbands to stay clear of insurgent affairs. So, the FETs directly contribute to the internal security of the area in what is often terms as a hearts and minds offensive.

She described this part of her career as the bit she would most talk about if she '*left the Royal Navy tomorrow and it wasn't anything to do with being a Radar Plotter or being on-board a ship*' (Lesley 234-239). So, at that particular moment in time her habitus was not particularly aligned with that required by the Royal Navy. However, it did seem to be congruent with what was required for the wider role of being a member of the FET. This was probably the most concrete and thus significant part of her narrative, the realisation that her future was not with the blue Navy but rather in what is called a Purple role (see glossary-p251) and the pioneering nature of it excited her.

When she returned from that deployment, she heard there was a job becoming available within the Royal Marines Pre-Deployment Training Team (RMPDT). This was the team that trains and prepares Royal Marines for a tour of duty in Afghanistan.

During this part of the interview she talked about actively seeking out this role

*The girl, the interpreter that worked there beforehand was leaving the Royal Navy and there was no one to fill her billet and I offered to do what I could not being an interpreter myself to help them out until such time as they got an interpreter to fill that billet. And I kept in touch with the warrant officer who ran the training there whilst I was out in Afghan and he was quite keen to have me join because there was only four of us from the Royal Navy that went out and did this job*

*(Lesley lines 244-253)*

Here it can be seen that she used her connections and contacts again and kept in touch with the appropriate person that would be key to her undertaking this new role. Thus, by understanding the doxa and deploying her accumulation of capitals, most noticeably social capital, she was able to use the social networks and connections in a deliberate and specific strategy to further her career. Up until this point there was a sense in her story that her career just happened to her and she had fitted in, but not always comfortably. But now she was actually starting to make choices that would shape her future and applying strategies that would benefit her. She was starting to believe that she had control over her career not as a Radar Plotter but as something that was quite different to the mainstream and therefore distinctive.

Within Lesley's narrative and demeanour there was a sense of a re-awakening and excitement. What was apparent is that she was looking for a role that had status,



distinction, action and involved working in a team that valued and respected, something that she perceived as missing from her role as a Radar Plotter. As she says the job had become ‘*very samey*’ (Lesley line 221) indicating that, for her, it lacked excitement. As Jolly (1996:19-20) states ‘a key measure of satisfaction is how well an individual’s military experience has lived up to his or her original expectations of it- these can vary considerably from person to person’. Whilst others may have found the Radar Plotter role sufficiently engaging and exciting, Lesley did not. For Lesley, it seemed that her original motivations for joining the Royal Navy were no longer being met so she sought other avenues to re-kindle the excitement.

She also realised that she had to fit in with the team and this was something she seemed quite happy to do. She quickly appeared to have worked out the doxa and states that

*‘When working with the Royal Marines you have to be accepted, you have to work above and beyond what you do to be accepted and they do like people to be into their phys [see glossary-p251], quite rightly so especially if you are going to work with them’*

(Lesley lines 914-920)

She seemed to have readily joined in, with renewed *illusio*, because she really wanted to do the job and without being physically fit that would make it difficult. She was working to close the gap between her *habitus* and the demands of the particular institutional *habitus* of the Royal Marines. Except this time, it was different as her *illusio* was in the ascendancy. There was also an emerging narrative of her being swept along with the RM ethos of doing things as teams where PT is just part of it.

Whilst she was clearly re-engaged in her career, what was not so obvious is how the organisation had asserted dominance over her career and choices up until that point. Within her narrative, she does not seem to recognise this as clearly as Roger. However, it appears that through symbolic violence the organisation had exerted its power and dominance on her. Although it seems that she had re-invigorated her career with a change of direction it was the Royal Navy that had ultimate control of the choices she was able to make as they were the arbiter of institutional power.

Oliver's narrative contained references to how having tacitly understood the doxa he was able to maximise benefit. He had sufficient accumulations of capitals within his RN habitus. He also recognised some of the institutional forms of cultural capital and the practices of the institutional habitus in a similar way that the other respondents did. In the same way as Roger, Oliver now drew upon this to help develop others in the Royal Navy and this was something he says he really enjoys

*'The other thing I enjoyed at Collingwood was subordinate development as well, making the guys realise I can't do it for you, if you want to develop yourselves it's not up to me. I'll give you the opportunity and every experience I can but it's up to you to go and develop yourselves. So, if you want to be getting promoted you need to be looking at 'What can I do better than the next guy?'*

*(Oliver, lines 334-339)*

Oliver described how the three PTI course instructors (No1, 2 and 3) were influential upon him and have left a lasting impression.

*'[Our] No.1 instructor is somebody I still respect today; I still look up to today in a lot of ways really. He told us from day 1 of course 'I'm here to guide you through this, I'm here to help you to be the best you can be. I'll expect the best*

*from you but I'm not going to make life difficult for you just because I can. If you all play the game and jump through the hoops and do as you're told, life will be a lot less complicated; however, if you start going off-track and not listening to what's being told it could get quite painful'*

*(Oliver, Lines 485-492)*

Oliver was still learning from the very positive and influential No.1. It also illustrates a wider point of reproduction of the doxa in the Royal Navy. But Oliver, whilst being compliant to the demands of the course put new insight in his '*pocket*' for later. He was able to do this using his internalised core values and RN habitus to reconcile the tensions within the field and close the gap. Like Roger he adhered to the doxa. Doxa and *illusio* are inexplicitly linked within the field so Oliver played the double game. He was able to see it for what it was and wanted to change it. But the compliance with the institutional habitus and the doxa (*play the game, jump through hoops, do as you're told*) was still in evidence but the important thing here is it was being articulated as such; playing the game. This aptly illustrates the relational nature of doxa and the field (Bourdieu 1986:101) and how strategy and positioning within it can be pursued for career benefit. But for some the enduring and deep-seated nature of one's habitus and by extension '*illusio*', it is not always possible (Colley 2014:13).

Those who are able to engage with the doxa to maximise profit can bring into play their developing RN habitus within the field. The intricate nature and particularity of the Royal Navy field means that there are so many '*things*' to develop through traineeship in such a relatively short time that the primary habitus and dispositions must play a pivotal role.

Oliver, like the other respondents, was enthusiastically engaged in pedagogic labour in order to benefit himself and, for him this included those around him. Although the PTI course was an imposed cultural arbitrary, he could see that to choose to not engage with it was unthinkable and was to disadvantage himself. However, to engage is to perpetuate the divisions unless he can get to a position where he could influence and change it by becoming a constituent part of the institutional habitus.

In Andrew's narrative, he talked about how he '*met a wonderful man and probably a bit of a mentor*' he says:

*'HMS [redacted] -Where I met the "father I never had"- Jimmy Berwick (name changed) ...He showed me that I could be anything I wanted to be. VERY self-demeaning, warts and all, what you see is what you get. He taught me that it was a team game... Surround yourself with the right people, you achieve more. At Leading Rates leadership course, we studied John Adair's action centred leadership (develop the individual, to enhance the team, to achieve the task). Jimmy Berwick showed me it worked!'*

*(Andrew, Line 169-170).*

Before meeting Jimmy, Andrew was considering leaving the Royal Navy. He spoke about this with his new mentor Jimmy Berwick and Andrew believes that he saw potential in him and together they set about developing opportunities for advancement. Jimmy was a very experienced member of the Royal Navy and probably had assimilated a RN habitus. He was also a constituent part of the existing institutional habitus by virtue of his rank and status, and would certainly be influential in the choices that Andrew would need to make. This was another pivotal turning point in Andrew's career where he put in place a strategy for advancement and draws upon the accumulation of capitals within his RN habitus. Under the guidance of Jimmy, he

started to seek out the right type of job roles and being seen in the right place he got promoted to Petty Officer (PO). However, Bourdieu contends that reliance on what has been described as a familial relationship (*'the father I never had'*) is also a form of symbolic violence. It masks the asymmetry of power in the working relationship, with its attendant obligations, and is therefore systematically misrecognised (Bourdieu 1990).

To understand this within the Royal Navy setting we might reconceptualise the notion of family. If we consider the Royal Navy as Andrew's new family in which father or mother figures or Sea Dads/Mums (see glossary-p252) are like parents. He is the subordinate within this family and thus the power relationship is asymmetrical, that is, vested in the hierarchy of rank. There is an expectation, and therefore an obligation, within the Royal Navy rank structure that subordinates are supported and encouraged within their development by the next rank up. To not undertake this routine expectation would be unthinkable. The development of subordinates is analogous with the traditional notion of family so the CPOs support the POs, the POs support the LH, and the LH support the ABs, and so on. Bourdieu (1990) argues that this relationship places a feeling of moral obligation and debt upon the subordinate to try harder and ensure that the investment is realised. This form of gift-exchange economy (Bourdieu 1990) becomes a form of symbolic violence, albeit in a benevolent and invisible form. This sense of obligation is common in all the narratives.

Bourdieu (1990) proposes that symbolic violence creates a bond between agents that is systematically misrecognised because both are conditioned by the field to see this as

‘normal’. This form of alien cognition as Bourdieu (1990) calls it masks the asymmetrical power relationship by substantiating it with one of benefit and advancement. Therefore, agents within the field enthusiastically engage in pedagogic labour for status and distinction whilst at the same time reproducing their social positions and replicating the divisions.

### **Aspiration through division: navigating the field**

The field forms part of the wider theory of practice (Bourdieu 1986). When analysed there are three main areas of components to be considered, the field of power, the field of structure and how agents position themselves to maximise opportunities. As an organisation, the Royal Navy maintains its power through its hierarchical structure, position, particular ranks and a sense of obligation to develop subordinates all within the institutional habitus. So, those with a higher rank are usually in a position to influence the choices they make and dominate those below them. Often this is achieved through misrecognition and symbolic violence. But agents engage in this through pedagogic labour as the rewards or benefits are thought to be worth it. Indeed, from a doxa perspective, it is expected that you aspire to promotion and development. Therefore, the Royal Navy creates aspiration through division.

In terms of transitions and adaptations to the field, we can refer back to Alan’s particular case from the previous chapter. Alan had taken his time to ‘go up through the ranks’ (Friedman 2015). This meant that he had a more coherent sense of identity within the field and the transition was less stressful for him than Brian who had wanted to travel

the world without accumulating the affective component. Alan had therefore developed his affective component, and by extension developed his RN habitus, in a more measured way. Further insight to his particular case can be seen in terms of field analysis. Alan had already started to position himself within the field and had identified the areas to avoid. In terms of a theory of practice (Bourdieu 1990) it would seem that the familial influence of his father and brother in law had contributed towards his accumulations of cultural capital within a RN habitus.

Alan joined the Royal Navy and was unsure as to what specialisation he had actually joined. Perhaps more accurately, he was unsure about what the specialisation actually did, suggesting that the cognitive component was lacking. This is probably in the form of a lack of inside knowledge rather than an inability to make sense of it. But we also start to see a process of cognitive development even before he joins the Royal Navy. As part of his preparations he draws upon information from friends and family who had been in, or were still serving in the Royal Navy.

*I phoned my brother in law up who was a Chief Submariner, Electrical Engineer and I told him I was successful and he said brilliant, are you going to be an Electrical Mechanic. I said no, they're not taking any on at the moment, but I've joined as Seaman Operator and I don't know if I'm allowed to say what he said to me over the phone, he said 'wanker'*

*(Alan, lines 78-84)*

This is an interesting response from his brother-in-law. When considered in the light of Reay et al's (2001) status component of institutional habitus it would seem that each individual specialisation has an important status as well. Moreover, drawing on information and the experiences of others, particularly family, to better position

oneself is an important theme of Alan and others. This is linked to the way some agents position themselves in the field of enactment and make choices to maximise benefit and thus maximise the range of possible trajectories.

For Norman, there was a sense of a rapidly developing RN habitus based on the ability to understand the field.

*the gunners' branch and missileman was again a very strict place, very instructor led and the gunners were seen as being a sort of cut above the rest in terms of the way they handled themselves so you aspired to be what they were. And again, that training was hard and again the instructors were fair and again got the best out of everybody that they needed to and most people did achieve the grade and get out of training to join their first ship.*

*(Norman, Lines 49-57)*

In similar way that Simpson et al (2014) described the development of habitus in those joining the butchery trade, there was a growing sense of distinction gained from being part of a shared tradition with its core values and own institutional habitus. For Norman, the field of gunner or missileman was characterised by strict discipline and hard training. But also, there is a sense of pride that he should aspire to, using this as a model to compare himself, to make choices so he can better navigate the field.

But not all who joined the Royal Navy found they had the ability to navigate the field in such a positive way. Alan's friend Brian was less effective and eventually left the Royal Navy. Yvette seemed to find adapting to the field particularly difficult but did eventually prevail. Victor talked of the adverse effects the field can have. He was drafted aboard HMS CORNWALL in 2008 and this was the



*'lowest point of my career, with back-to-back Gulf deployments and [I] did not get on with my boss for the first time in my career; was on track to be promoted to WO (Warrant Officer) prior to this draft'.*

*(Victor Lived life data form)*

Here he was describing an issue of not fitting in particularly well. The Royal Navy's promotion system uses criteria partly based upon an understanding and acceptance of the existing institutional habitus. Roger, Lesley, Oliver and Andrew have articulated similar incidents in their stories, where the accumulations of capitals and dispositions were not sufficient for them to navigate the field and assimilate the institutional habitus of that particular ship or boat. This lack of understanding of the habitus led to them not always meeting the criteria required for advancement or promotion. In Victor's narrative, he talked of positioning himself in a shore draft as a Divisional Officer (DO) at HMS Raleigh. Not only does this role have prestige and status (and thus enhances promotion prospects) but allowed him to stay closer to home. In his role as a DO he was also responsible for developing his immediate superior, the Divisional Training Officer (DTO). He described the relationship and the freedom it gave him

*my relationship with my boss, who was the Divisional Training Officer who was a Lieutenant, wasn't always, hadn't always got as much experience as me. So, sorry should I say, Divisional Training Officer's responsible for about a hundred recruits in their Division, doesn't always have responsibility for their Deputy, who is normally, who is a Chief, so it's left to the Chief's experience in previous jobs to sometimes coach and guide the, more often than not, the less senior Lieutenant. So yes, if anything, he looked up to the Chief to provide examples of, you know, or provide experience at sea as to why something's being done during training. So, I'd say I got more autonomy at Raleigh than I did on board a ship.*

*(Victor, lines 731-743)*

This indicates that Victor, through the choices he made, his RN habitus and dispositions, had understood the field and was also navigating around it well, in a constructive way that was of benefit to his DTO and himself.

Bourdieu's notion of strategy is an appropriate concept to relate to this situation as it combines the three components of situational, positional and disposition. Bourdieu contends that at a practical level the agent has a sub-conscious 'feel for the game' (Lamaison and Bourdieu 1986:111). This feel for the game is a result of experience and is part of an agent's habitus and system of dispositions. But running deeper than this is what Bourdieu refers to as the 'double game' (Lamaison & Bourdieu 1986:113). In the double game, there is playing to the rules or being legitimate whilst also acting in one's own interest by giving the appearance of obeying the rules. Those that can master this through their understanding of the situation and position themselves within the field will benefit. Therefore, those who could assimilate the practices of the institutional habitus are better placed to make choices that will advance them toward the development of a RN habitus.

Whilst engaged in the double game strategy, Victor enhanced his promotion prospects, the DTO had an opportunity to develop their wider skills and the trainees get the benefit of the combined experience. At no time was there a sense of 'getting one over' the DTO or any impropriety. But both enter into it willingly as they are prepared to invest in the relationship for the perceived benefits.

In respect to positioning and having a 'feel for the game', Oliver described some of the conversations he was having with other members of his cohort

*'you'd get speaking to other people and you'd say 'How's it going at Collingwood?' 'I hate it, I hate it. I'm micro-managed, I don't know what I'm doing. People are shouting at me all day every day, I haven't got a clue what's going on really. I don't really want to be here; I'm thinking of putting my notice in'.*

*(Oliver 524-528)*

Here Oliver has recognised that the field changes depending upon the people and character of the particular organisation. This reinforces the assertion that individual ships and shore establishments have their own subtle form of professional habitus but within the wider one of the Royal Navy. He will be better prepared to navigate the field of that particular location should he find himself there. Throughout Oliver's narrative there was the constant theme of learning from others by looking, listening and following.

Some respondents talked of the training and how they quickly grasped what was required and how it all worked-the expressive order and organisational processes.

They had understood the basics of the field and how to navigate it and areas to avoid.

*I think I did all right. I didn't get back classed or anything like that, I didn't get into trouble and again I think that came with being that little bit older. You knew the consequences during the week, knuckle down, sort yourself out and then at the weekend that's when you could relax if you weren't doing any extra duties or anything like that.*

*(Norman, Lines 635-640)*

*From a training perspective, being at Raleigh it was expected as an initial trainee, you knew you were going to get shouted at, you were going to march,*

*you were going to do weapon drills, assault courses, etc. you just got on with it and tried to not draw too much attention to yourself'*

*(Roger lines 60-64)*

The respondents have adapted to the field rapidly suggesting that there was something in their habitus and disposition that supported this rapid adaption. From my field notes, I have observed that the way respondents expressed their development during all phases of training is not with any great excitement, more a sense of 'it's what you are supposed to do isn't it?'. This is the institutional expectation that the possible is routine and to not do the routine is unthinkable. This also highlights how the dominated group misrecognised it as the natural way of things. So, these respondents have eventually negotiated the field structure effectively. They have navigated the field in a very short space of time.

The transition from civilian to service person was just another event to some and quite a shock for others. Alan describes it in his usual casualness

*'My dad was ex-Navy and he said is this really what you want to do, you know, will you be able to stick the training and I said of course I will, dad. So they signed the forms, they went off.....So I joined the Navy'*

*(Alan, lines 66-73)*

This highlights how the familial aspect of their habitus significantly influences their choice making. There was an assumption and expectation that Alan would go into the Royal Navy.

Yvette described her first few weeks as *'I didn't have a very good experience at Raleigh at all. I cried constantly'* (Yvette lines 361-364). But she did say *'But then I got to the*

*end of and realised I had actually loved it and looked back and picked out the bits that I did actually like' (Yvette, Lines 917-918).*

Internalised core values, shared identity and social conditions and common purpose can be the binding factors within social relations. So, when this is put to the test or strained it can lead to conflict, affect relationships and damage team spirit as Roger found out when he was required to lead a new team. This confrontation can be a quite a low level, petty rivalry or at the extreme, mutinous, although mutinous behaviour is very rare in the Royal Navy (Gutteridge 2002). Roger stated when he took over a new section from another PO submariner

*'but unfortunately, his lads were a little.... they'd been on the same submarine for six, seven years together. With me, when you first joined you only did two or three years and then you were drafted inboard, but .....they were keeping the same crews on and they were lethargic, they were lazy, they were set in their ways. I had a very difficult time and a lot of discipline issues very early on in that draft. But it was slightly overshadowed by the fact that I was having difficulty with my department who took to me very ill basically, they just didn't like me at all. It was unfortunate because three of the Leading Hands had been in longer than me and were older than me. It got sorted in the end and I left there with an extremely good write up after three years, but it was a lot of work'*

*(Roger lines 573-593)*

In the end the group accepted Roger into the team but there was resistance to what is perceived as a threat to them. The notion of an outsider posing a threat to the established order can be seen in some of the narratives in one form or another. For example, Oliver describes the behaviour of one of his instructors and the way he learnt how not to instruct. Through the instructor's example, it made Oliver realise that to be a poor instructor was unthinkable. This was in sharp contrast to the lead instructor, or

Number one discussed earlier. The lead instructor was nurturing and developmental whereas Number two was less so and thus seen as a threat to the established order and practices of the institutional habitus. But Oliver was able to extract useful learning points from this to take forward.

*My No. 2 at the time showed me exactly how not to be an instructor which was useful because our No.1 always told us it doesn't matter who you work with, what they do, what they look like, you can always learn something off somebody even if it's not how to do something. There was no doubt the No.2 on my course taught me how not to be a PTI or how to be an instructor full stop. His answer to everything was 'Faster, harder, better than the next person next to you', which wasn't really directing, wasn't really guiding it was just if it didn't work make it work i.e. hit it harder, run faster, jump higher; there was no real direction from him which was okay, he had his ways.*

*(Oliver lines 56-66)*

In training, difficulty and overt pressure is probably best described as an informal rite of passage and part of the expressive order which is probably expected by individuals as Oliver found out. But when it's in the mainstream part of the job it can become a particularly difficult hurdle to overcome as Roger found. However, these apparent quarrels very quickly disappear when the ship or the patrol are threatened and the collective effort is to defend and maintain the integrity of the group. For example, when Lesley was deployed as part of a routine sailing patrol in UK waters, she talked of the difficulties when she was on board ship by describing other members of her crew as '*people who just take*' (Lesley line 848). By this she felt they had no respect for her personal space or for her as a person. Also, there was no immediate or perceived threat to the ship. However, she moved roles and worked with the Royal Marines and was deployed to Afghanistan, she described them as having '*the utmost respect for each other*' (Lesley line 848) and she felt she fitted in a lot better. This was probably

due to the training and the role that they were tasked with and the level of threat. The theatre of war they were working in placed them in daily mortal danger. Such a threat to the unit would ensure petty rivalries are quickly forgotten and there is collective action to protect each other and the ship or unit.

To suggest that a team orientated organisation such as the Royal Navy relies upon creating division in order that its personnel aspire to bettering themselves seems an unusual statement to make. After all teamwork is central to the way the Royal Navy works and relies upon unity, internalisation of core values and commonality of purpose. But the creation of aspiration through division is very much in evidence within the narratives. By division, I mean at an inter- and intra-personal level, rather than the whole organisation. The overt hierarchical structure means that there is a clear career pathway within a stratified field. An awareness of how to navigate this field is rooted in the internalisation of the core values and practices of the institutional habitus of the Royal Navy. Each step in a career requires pedagogic labour in order to achieve the perceived benefits. Finally, there must be the creation of aspiration and a willingness to engage with the field.

### **‘Treated Like an adult’: reproduction of symbolic violence**

Allied to the theme of family was another common term used within the narratives *‘treated like an adult’*. It rarely changed in tone or content. In nearly all the narratives there appears to be a particular point in their career when they say that they were, or felt like they were being *‘treated like an adult’*. This seems to occur at the point when

they became instructors and/or were promoted to PO. Relating this to Bourdieu's (1984) concept of distinction suggests that a PO moves from the personal cultural domain to the one of legitimation. Here they are seen as setting the standard and expectations of the institutionally defined cultural capital; the arbiters of culture. They find themselves there because they have demonstrated their suitability through the adherence to the prevailing doxa. Their experiences and developing habitus becomes a constituent part of the institutional habitus. At this point, there is a change in status and location within the Royal Navy as well as the outward display of semiotic devices such as uniform, badges of rank, footwear and even a different hat. The POs live and eat in a different mess to ABs and LHs. They take on the dominant aesthetic in terms of judgement and taste. They set the standard of acceptability, a standard that was developed through replication and assimilation. They also become responsible for articulating and then instilling the core values of the Royal Navy. Therefore, being a PO has distinction and is distinctive within the Royal Navy. All these indicators are important to those within the Royal Navy not only because they are items or articles of legitimisation associated with distinction, but are also a form of institutionalised cultural capital in the RN habitus.

If the term '*treated like an adult*' were to be examined, it would suggest that before this point they were not '*treated like an adult*' and therefore treated differently; so how were the respondents treated? Roger's narrative gave a clue about how he was made to feel like a child or '*mummy's boy*'. This re-enforcement of the hegemonic masculinity results in a feeling of not belonging and somehow not manly enough. He



also recounted some of the verbal chastising he received from a SR when he was trying to learn the systems on his boat in order to be a functioning member of the boat's crew.

*So instead of him trying to coax it out of me, to try and offer me another way like 'why don't you think about this, what about that?'.... he just screamed on me and called me an effing this, see you next Tuesday and all that sort of thing and just belittled me in front of other people. I wasn't visibly upset, but inside I was just crumbling and walked off, called him all the names of the sun. Luckily for me, one of the other Senior Rates had heard him do this and ripped him a new one afterwards and said 'he's not going to ever come back to you again'. He said 'you're not doing your job, are you?' If it's against the command he's going to be in for it. I'd seen that happen to other people as well, not just from him, from these older guys. I could never understand it, because how are we supposed to learn, I was thinking how I'm supposed to know when you're going to talk to me like that when I've done nothing wrong.*

*(Roger Lines 850-866)*

For Roger, the traineeship involved developing the cognitive component whilst adapting to the field and how things are done: the expressive order and institutional practices of the Royal Navy. There are also emotional overtones as he didn't want to be criticised or seen as perhaps manly enough. The person who was supposed to be developing his understanding of the boat systems was a SR and thus should be setting an example, a point the other SR made. In Roger's particular case, the SR was highlighting what some forms of distinction can have in terms of perpetuating and reinforcing an asymmetry of power and bringing about a symbolically violent relationship. If Roger wanted to become a functioning member of the boat he would have to engage in pedagogic labour as well as navigating his way around this individual. This is order to attain the status of submariner and thus have distinction.

In order to understand where this prevailing attitude comes from, I suggest that a possible answer lies not in the lower end of the hierarchy (Recruits, ABs and to a certain extent LH) but in the upper reaches of it where the symbolically violent nature of the Royal Navy maintains the asymmetry of power through hierarchy and misrecognition. For the Royal Navy, this is ultimately linked to the development of the RN habitus through pedagogic labour.

To gain a more complete insight to the magnitude of becoming a SR, it is useful to explore the role they undertake. In effect, they are the division between the commissioned Officers commanding the ship and those carrying out the commands. In comparison to the Junior Rate, the SR enjoys more privileges in the form of separate messing, more personal space and better food. However, placing these very physical and geographical differences aside, the real difference seems to be in how the SR are treated by the Officers commanding the ship. From my own experience, there is a close bond between the commissioned Officer and SR. It is a bond based upon mutual respect and acknowledgement that for an effective team they do need to rely upon each other in the same way Victor and his DTO did. In order to achieve this, SR's are given more autonomy to execute orders. SRs can also initiate discipline and award minor sanctions to lower ranks. However, there exists a very clear line of demarcation that is tacitly understood by the SR and the commissioned Officer will make it very clear if this is crossed.

Becoming a SR is also a realisation that there is a big step up in responsibility and maturity as they set the standards, becoming the role model for others to aspire to and the initial 'face' of the institutional habitus. For example, Lesley claims when she was on the SRCC '[she] *loved it, it was absolutely brilliant because it was the first time ever I felt like I got treated like an adult in the Royal Navy which is nice. People shook my hand; it was amazing*' (Lesley lines 125-128). Yvette also describes her SRCC as '*they treat you as an adult and I think that's another reason why I really enjoyed it as well*' (Yvette lines 577-579). And from this point on her narrative becomes very upbeat. Roger mentions '*I quite liked being spoken to as a grown up*' (Roger, Line 1023) and *I just thought that we were all treated as equals which is something I wasn't very used to in the navy* (Roger, Lines 1031-1032).

Lesley's narrative shows this as a constant theme. In her narrative, she discussed the initial stages of her career and the words she used were indicative of a child growing up and was related to gaining more responsibility.

*'a bit of responsibility and I suppose it's like being a kid isn't it, you're like "but why mum, dad?" and then it suddenly kicks in, "Oh that's the reason why" and I think that's what happens when you transition between AB in to a Leading Hand'*

*(Lesley Lines 56-59).*

With promotion came a sense of distinction and thus it is a visible indication of accumulated cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984), a point where Lesley was aware of her motivation. It is also at this point where Lesley took her first steps as an instructor and where she started to realise what being 'treated like an adult' meant to her. This was

further reinforced when she went on her Senior Rates Command Course or SRCC (see Glossary-p252). She claimed when she was on the SRCC she was treated like an adult (*Lesley lines 125-128*). So, she was viewing herself as an adult and promotion and instructing provides that moment of clarity.

The notion of promotion and advancement is an important strategy in the maintenance of the RN habitus; it creates drive and aspiration and pushes individuals to excel. To choose to engage in this with *illusio* will bring benefit and, within the Royal Navy context, prestige, status and distinction. To not engage in it would be seen as heterodoxical, 'unthinkable' and therefore would disadvantage an agent. However, the conditions are institutionally defined and systematically misrecognised.

I argue that becoming a Senior Rate (SR) is the crossing of a barrier in terms of *doxa*. A junior rate will have less responsibility for others and will be less accountable for their actions and probably be less aware of the 'why?' of what they are doing, for example Oliver following people around through training. An SR will set the example and become the guiding image, the role model, the guardian of the un-written, the perpetuation of the historical precedents, in short, they become the embodiment of the *doxa*. Through their actions and behaviour, the *doxa* is reproduced even though it is not explicitly written down, only espoused through imitation and replication. Therefore, the SR becomes the initial instrument of symbolic violence and through their adherence to the *doxa*, the Royal Navy values and beliefs system are reproduced.

And this starts in Phase 1 training when the civilian joins as it is SR, notwithstanding Alan, who are their instructors.

For those subordinates that engage in heterodoxical actions the SR can impose sanctions and other punishments. Clearly, there is a need to maintain order and discipline within the Royal Navy due to the job they could be called upon to undertake. Those junior rates that recognise this early on and submit to the doxa and through pedagogic action undertake to position themselves within the field will ultimately gain benefit and promotion. Those that do not recognise this will not progress and so the system reproduces itself. This is suggested by Bourdieu & Passeron (1977) by proposing that all pedagogic action is symbolically violent and power is concealed within it. The SR, the face and constituent of the institutional habitus imposes pedagogic action and this becomes the cultural arbitrary and form of dominance. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) proposed that the arbiters of culture only reproduce what they deem worthy and particular to that group. The arbitrary nature of what constitutes culture within one group becomes clear when compared to one that is subordinated.

## Chapter Summary

In this chapter I set out to examine how doxa, Illusio and symbolic violence manifest themselves within the Royal Navy. Central to this is the way the Royal Navy imposes compliance and coercion through the doxa, the institutional habitus and the imposition of the institutionally defined cultural arbitrary. This stratified field favours those that can use their Royal Navy habitus in order to benefit from it. Those that cannot are left behind. There are those that play the game, those that engage in the double game and those that engage in other forms of distinction. The result is the Royal Navy shapes and reproduces itself in the form of the institutional habitus that it wants and due to the relative proximity of the shared social space it is largely stable, coherent and very durable. However, this does rely on the Royal Navy recruiting the right person and moving them through the ranks: in the process of 'raising oneself, climbing, and acquiring the marks, the stigmata, of this effort' (Bourdieu 1985:725-726) bears the hallmarks of distinction in an institutional form. This process is encapsulated in my argument that the Royal Navy creates aspiration through division. The Royal Navy field is stratified and this in turn drives personnel to strive for or aspire to attain the rewards that a career can bring. Through the process of creating the legitimate cultural domain, a stratified field emerges. This has the hallmarks of Bourdieu's theory of distinction as it forms and maintains the dominant aesthetic that agents aspire to.

The most contentious theme to emerge is the proposal that the Royal Navy is a symbolically violent organisation. Throughout the narratives there is evidence of the

symbolically violent nature of the Royal Navy and yet agents engage in it enthusiastically, resulting in an effective fighting force. The notion of symbolic violence is entwined with dominance and power over an individual or group and this is systematically misrecognised as they are conditioned by the field to see this as normal. This is a particularly effective and coercive form of symbolic violence. For Royal Navy personnel, normality is presented through an overt rank structure and authority vested within the legitimate cultural domain of the institutional habitus. Whilst there is no particular or explicit mention in the respondents' narratives about rising through the ranks it is made very clear that there is an expectation that individuals' will engage in pedagogic labour to achieve this. i.e. to not engage in what is seen as routine would be unthinkable. Thus, they indirectly collaborate in their dominance as Bourdieu & Passeron (1977:7-8) have argued. Their *illusio* is part of a sense of professionalism and to be seen as acting professionally is exemplified by Lesley and alluded to by the other respondents.

The way the Royal Navy creates a stratified field (the legitimate cultural domain) through rank structure and other devices such as uniform (the dominant aesthetic) and then encourages personnel to aspire to promotion is the underpinning of my argument that the Royal Navy creates aspiration through division. As an organisation, it creates a clear pathway that is achievable, encouraging people to undertake pedagogical labour to achieve particular benefits. This in turn shapes its culture and the type of people that join and thrive within its structure. Those that do not meet its particular requirements that are embedded within the institutional habitus do not

progress. Those that do will be rewarded with promotion and status. They do well in their career by understanding the prevailing doxa and enthusiastically engaging in pedagogic labour. This form of cultural domination through symbolic violence is largely manifested within the promotion criteria.

Bourdieu (1990) argues that individuals enthusiastically engage in pedagogic labour as it is misrecognised. I argue that in the Royal Navy, misrecognition is not particularly well hidden. The overt nature of the rank structure, the explicit statement of where agents sit within this, the creation of aspiration through division make misrecognition less opaque but no less pervasive. As evidenced within their narratives, the respondents undoubtedly recognise the power relations and aspire to them, actively engaging in strategies to achieve this. Those that submit to it usually progress but those that are unable to will not. Alan's friend is an example where he was unable to assimilate to the institutional habitus, whereas Alan took his time and was rewarded. Roger, Norman and the others were similarly able to assimilate this habitus and gain promotion. Victor set out on a strategy to gain promotion and was largely successful. However, he was unable to adapt to the demands that were placed on him towards the end of his career and was not subsequently promoted. Therefore even those that are able to engage in the process can still sometimes fall short.

Another form of symbolic violence is the sense of obligation to develop subordinates. It obligates the more senior rank to develop their subordinates as this is seen as a marker of professionalism and to not do so is unthinkable. The sense of obligation



perpetuates the asymmetry of power. This constitutes a form of gift-exchange economy (Bourdieu 1990) which can be viewed as symbolically violent. It is also an example of how the Royal Navy reproduces its organisational structure which is maintained through the imposition of a cultural arbitrary. And yet the Royal Navy is viewed as a distinctive organisation with a global reputation for high standards of performance and effectiveness (Wilson 2014). This suggests that the Royal Navy approach with its apparent inequalities, subjugation and domination is a very effective way to run an organisation. Indeed, the levels of commitment its personnel possess can be seen in their dedication to their team, their ship, the Royal Navy and ultimately their country. The personnel who willingly volunteer for the service in the Royal Navy sometimes find themselves in very hostile and dangerous situations like humanitarian disaster relief operations or war. From an outsider's perspective, the regime can look anachronistic and full of opaque traditions and rituals. But it is an effective and rewarding organisation for those who submit and engage with it through pedagogic labour.

## Chapter Six-Conclusion

### The development of the Royal Navy Habitus

In this thesis, I have argued that there develops a RN Habitus which is so enduring that it becomes the primary habitus of individuals. Those that constitute the institutional habitus have internalised its existing core values and are in a better position to influence its future development. This, in-turn, shapes and sets out the field and those best placed with sufficient accumulations of capitals, dispositions and enthusiasm engage in pedagogic labour to navigate it to their benefit. Thus, to mutual benefit, the RN produces dedicated professional personnel and the individual in return gains recognition, status and reward. However, the way this is achieved is also of particular significance in this thesis. I have argued that the Royal Navy develops its personnel through a symbolically violent approach that is systematically misrecognised and firmly embedded within the doxa. Deer (2008:120) defines what doxa means in modern societies

‘Pre-reflexive, shared but unquestioned opinions and perceptions mediated by the field which determines the natural practice and attitudes via the internalised sense of limits and habitus of social agents in the fields’

The Royal Navy as an organisation is so opaque to an outsider that its operational nuances can be lost within its institutional habitus. The insider perspective within this research approach allowed these nuances to be understood and explained. My insider knowledge within this research enabled me to quickly identify aspects of the expressive order and institutional practices that were routine and part of the doxa. The doxa cannot be adequately examined at the pre-reflexive stage because there is no

alternative or competing discourses. Only when it is constituted within the field of opinion (Bourdieu 1977:168) or reflexive stage can it be questioned. As Bourdieu argues, only when the critique brings the 'undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation' can the relationship between the subjective and objective structures that constitute the doxa be exposed and illuminated.

I have shown that the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM) informed approach of data collection is particularly useful at gaining insight into this doxa, the overt, hidden, subtle and nuanced processes at work within the Royal Navy. The use of narratives and the free associative gestalt highlighted the centrality of the affective component within the development of the RN habitus: the respondents' narratives illustrated the difficulties of understanding and developing the necessary attitudes, values and beliefs that the Royal Navy demands.

Bourdieu argues that uncovering and making explicit social inequities can 'restore to people the meaning of their actions' (Bourdieu cited in Grenfell 2008:15). I have used his theoretical framework to situate this research and to highlight the mechanisms that create social inequities. Wacquant's theories have also been used as a conceptual road map for secondary habitus development through his concept of traineeship. Wacquant highlights how the development of the secondary habitus can be helped or hindered by its relative proximity to the primary habitus, arguing that the development of the cognitive, conative skills is important but the affective component is the key to a successful traineeship.

From the very beginning of training the Royal Navy develops levels of expectation, the cultural arbitrary, that is made very clear to recruits. Those that constitute the components or the 'face' of the institutional habitus ensure that it is rigidly enforced and its core values are instilled within recruits. This institutional form of cultural capital and imposed cultural arbitrary is laid down and those enthusiastically engage with it through pedagogical labour will progress, and those that do not, will not. The imposition of this cultural arbitrary means that there is no room for alternative forms of action or individuation, at this stage of training. As personnel progress in their traineeship, the core values become so internalised and embedded that a distinct RN habitus emerges. The process of navigating the field is enacted through Wacquant's (2013) notion of traineeship. Each individual begins to develop a secondary habitus as they become functioning members of the Royal Navy. A successful traineeship relies on individuals developing three essential components of a Royal Navy habitus, cognitive, connotative and affective, each of which is mediated by an existing institutional habitus and upheld by those that constitute it. Each person arrives with differing amounts of these components as a result of their upbringing and experiences and this ultimately influences the ease at which they assimilate their initial training and future career. My research has shown that eventually these components are developed sufficiently for them to advance in their new career in the Royal Navy. But I have also highlighted the difficulties they have encountered along the way.

The respondents all talked of some difficulty when making transitions either from civilian to the Royal Navy, within their career, or upon leaving. There is the notion of

occupying two locations that both Reay (2015) and Bourdieu (1990) suggest leads to a lack of integration of disparate experiences and unresolved internal conflicts and tensions. This can be destabilising, but a unifying experience such as joining the RN, drafts, command courses, joining a submarine, and undertaking new direction or other career training courses also creates a clearer and coherent sense of self. Bourdieu (1984:114) argues that the social space (the volume, composition of capitals and the change in both volume and composition over time) governs the individual's habitus development and ultimately their trajectory, or band, of possibilities. So paradoxically, the Royal Navy is the source and resolution of this lack of coherent self and the development of new familial and kinship ties. It creates the space for agents to occupy two locations of self but also provides a trajectory of possibilities. Moreover, it makes the unthinkable possible, the possible routine, and to not do the routine unthinkable. The Royal Navy, through the institutional habitus, influences the process and pattern of choice making. It encourages individuals to develop the institutionally defined form of cultural capital through promotion and career enhancement for those that aspire to it.

The occupation of two locations can be resolved but it takes time as one respondent explained *'I didn't really like any of it, to be quite honest. I struggled with everything and it was such a massive culture shock, I think, for me'* (Yvette lines 909-910). But a little later *'When I got to [redacted], I had a lovely Killick WREN...and I just used to follow her around-she was just like an older sister, so calm and nice and everything was done at my pace, I wasn't shouted at'* (Yvette 392-398). At the other end of their

career, the two respondents that left the Royal Navy did experience a tension between the field of the RN and the civilian world in which they are now located. *'It was very difficult to begin with but through time and experience you become the person you are'* (Victor line 1069). They still identify themselves as ex-navy and refer to their new employers and work colleagues as 'civilians'. Their narratives suggest that they were able to navigate the new field using their RN habitus with its internalised core values in order to maintain a coherent sense of self. This emphasises the enduring nature of the RN habitus but also how some of the tensions between the two fields can sometimes be resolved. This tendency also suggests that further research is required in this area (see Macer, 2016)

What is particularly significant is that not one respondent mentioned any desire to go back to their previous civilian life, even though they will have to leave the RN and return to civilian life. The tensions that this transition can cause such as the loss of coherent self and loss of kinship ties is documented by Jolly (1996). How individuals overcome these with ultimately depend on their ability to cope with the tensions between the two fields. I suggest that those with a well-developed RN habitus can on occasions use their accumulation of capitals in order to manage these tensions and maintain a more coherent sense of self.

The respondents did not explicitly discuss their upbringing other than to say that is was strict (Victor) or other family members or close friends were in the military (Roger, Oliver, Yvette, Alan, Norman and Andrew). My argument is that the absence of any

mention of upbringing within their narratives show how deeply embedded it is and therefore how it has become embodied within their primary habitus. However, it must also be borne in mind that I asked the respondents to describe all the important things that have happened to them since joining the RN. The fact that some did mention, when asked for clarification, the influence that family members had on their decision to join the RN shows that the familial influence was still an important aspect of people making choices. This relates to Reay et al's (2001) assertion that the familial upbringing will shape dispositions of agency within individuals' as they make their choices.

I have argued that it is the familial dimension that develops within the Royal Navy that makes it such a distinctive habitus. When developing a secondary habitus through traineeship, the familial component is not always present in other civilian organisations. The familial (primary socialisation) and educational (secondary socialisation) conditions that exist to develop what Bourdieu collectively calls the 'primary habitus' (1990:56) are not necessarily present when developing a secondary habitus through traineeship in other organisations. Whilst the cognitive, conative and affective components can be developed to form a secondary habitus, it is shorter lived, less enduring and explicit in its organisation than the primary habitus (Wacquant 2013:5). But when a traineeship includes a familial dimension established through increasing immersion in the field, close relationships and kinship ties such as those which are experienced in the Royal Navy, then the resulting habitus, the RN Habitus, is likely to be embodied and more enduring and less easy to change. As Bourdieu (1990)

contends habitus is a product of primary and secondary socialisations developed through familial (primary) and educational (secondary) experiences and both of these are in evidence within the Royal Navy institutional habitus. When these conditions are met then, the RN habitus becomes their primary habitus.

Recently there has been a rise in the amount of charitable support (UK Fund Raising 2014) for service personnel, particularly when they leave through normal contractual completion or are discharged through injury. This increase in charitable support could suggest that they experience difficulties when making the transition back to their former life. I have argued that when the enduring nature of the RN habitus and the embedded nature of its attitudes and core values are better understood, then the employment opportunities for service leavers could be greatly enhanced.

It suggests that for service leavers joining new organisations there could be an important tension between two competing habitus. A service leaver is attempting to assimilate through a secondary habitus values, ethos, and practices within the institutional habitus that may be significantly different. One example of such tension is the recent 'Troops into Teaching' policy (DfE 2015). Launched in 2014, only 20% of the cohort completed this programme (Schools Week 2016). The scheme anticipated that the service ethos in terms of values, teamwork, resilience, core values and the ability to inspire and engage would bring additionality such as leadership, teamwork, resilience, adaptability and the ability to inspire and engage (DfE 2015) to the classroom. What has not been recognised is the potential difference between the two



competing habitus, nor any understanding of the affective dimension of the service leaver trying to assimilate themselves within the institutional habitus of the school or college. Important tensions can emerge within the classroom as the service leaver imposes their cultural arbitrary (after all that is what they have been specifically recruited for) on the young pupils even while they are still developing their own understanding of the practices within the institutional habitus.

An organisation such as the Royal Navy is constituted by individual habitus and each one has a history and individual ethos. They join together and through an amalgam of structure and agency internalise core values, make career choices that are influenced by, and subsequently go on to form and reform the institutional habitus. The expressive order and the organisational practices of the institutional habitus have to be assimilated by individuals. Then, as they rise to positions of status and distinction, they imbue the institutional habitus with their own history and ethos which has been mediated and previously influenced by the institution. This is how individuals' influence and how the institutional habitus is changed albeit at a significantly different rate to that of the individual. The individual progresses within their careers by making a series of choices within the existing pattern of choice making. This makes some choices unthinkable, other possible and yet others routine. The Royal Navy sets expectations through the doxa that makes the previously unthinkable a possibility, the possible routine and to not do the routine unthinkable. As they go on to internalise the institutional habitus, I propose this becomes and develops into the RN Habitus

The affective component of traineeship is the key part of developing a RN habitus. It is also the one that seems to take the longest to acquire but it also has the most profound impact and lasting legacy. There is a distinct point in their career when respondents report a step change in the way they feel they were being treated by the Royal Navy. It is variously referred to as 'treated like an adult' or 'treated with respect' and is aligned with promotion to PO. I have argued that it is at this point where the organisation has recognised these individuals as possessing the necessary attributes, or institutional cultural capital, they become the 'face' of the institutional habitus and are rewarded with promotion. With this promotion, they impose the core values and what the institutional habitus deems the cultural arbitrary which is then enacted through the training of the next generation of personnel. This aspect of the doxa is so well embedded that individuals see this move up within their career as the next natural step i.e. to not do the routine would be unthinkable.

For organisations wishing to develop their employees through traineeship and create an organisational or cultural ethos it seems that training in terms of cognitive and conative development has limited utility (see O'Donnell and Boyle, 2008). But these activities need to support the main focus, the development of the affective component, which is not a quick process. I have argued that developing the affective component relies upon identifying a defined cultural capital embedded within the expressive order and organisational practices of the institutional habitus. In order for individuals to engage in pedagogic labour to attain the institutional cultural capital they must be able to identify the perceived benefits of this undertaking. This may be in

terms of pay and bonuses, but it must have a dimension rooted in status and distinction. For an organisation to create a distinctive habitus, arguably, there should be some form of familial component that is situated in the matrix of kinship ties, relationships and hierarchies, to create a sense of belonging to a particular group. When the affective dimension is developed within a framework of kinship or family and has a clear value base, it could lead to a more permanent change, the development of a RN habitus.

### **The Royal Navy as a symbolically violent organisation**

I have suggested that the Royal Navy is a symbolically violent organisation which is used to support the development of the RN Habitus. The concept of symbolic violence in this context relates to the way the Royal Navy asserts its power and control over people. Central to the notion of symbolic violence is power and the way that dominance over people is systematically misrecognised: they are conditioned by the field to see it as normal or cannot state it for a lack of a suitable discourse-the doxa. Bourdieu (1977) contends that every established order tends to produce the naturalisation of its own arbitrariness. He proposes that 'the most important [mechanism] to produce this effect is undoubtedly the dialectic of the objective chances and the agent's aspirations, out of which rises a sense of limits' (Bourdieu 1977:164). The objective chances are defined by a specific logic of the established order which becomes the main influence of the process and pattern of choice making for individuals. The Royal Navy imposes a fundamental virtue of conformity through the established social order and the agent must recognise this to realise its benefits.

One way this is achieved is through an overt power hierarchy situated within rank. Each stratum going up in status, (or promotion), is a reward for conforming with the doxa and culture and is further embedded within the RN habitus. The main demarcation line is at Petty Officer (PO) level where the respondents discuss of a distinct step change in the way they are treated ('treated like an adult') and perceived by those higher up the rank structure. This is the point at which the Royal Navy perceives them as having developed the RN habitus and they therefore become the institutional arbiters of culture. This is further reinforced by the Royal Navy entrusting its POs with training the next generation of recruits and inculcating them with the core values and beliefs associated with the doxa, their ethos becoming part of the evolving institutional habitus.

In The Royal Navy's institutional habitus the rank structure is based on a meritocracy. Those that are able to assimilate this existing habitus will gain promotion and train the next generation. Those that are unable to successfully engage will not advance. This is a form of symbolic violence which is misrecognised by those that are dominated.

There is tacit engagement and acceptance of the doxa through pedagogic labour as individuals acquiesce to the Royal Navy's expressive order and organisational practices. This tradition is not questioned because to question the routine would be unthinkable. As Bourdieu (1977:165) contends 'the tradition is silent not least about itself as a tradition'. The respondents engaged with the doxa with varying levels of *illusio* to realise the benefits. This unquestioning stance is highlighted by Deer's

(2008:120) argument that the doxa is 'unanimously unquestioned because it lies beyond any notion of enquiry within an organisation'. The doxa is unlikely to change as there's no antagonistic or alternative view point available. If there were an alternative view, the majority's adherence to the legitimised view that constitutes the doxa would reject it as it does not conform to the established social order. However, as individuals become constituents of the institutional habitus and exercise positions of influence, they can initiate changes, albeit small incremental ones.

Thus, within organisations such as the Royal Navy, the doxa cannot be directly challenged for the lack of an available alternative discourse. As Bourdieu (1977:168) contends adherence to the doxa is to recognise its legitimacy through the misrecognition of its arbitrary nature. As individuals' progress through their careers their RN habitus becomes so embedded and enduring, that they take on the role of the arbiters of culture, thus reproducing institutional inequalities. The pedagogic labour required to achieve promotion is misrecognised and personnel unwittingly submit to this and engage in their own domination.

## **Aspiration through division**

I have argued that the Royal Navy creates aspiration through division. The overt hierarchy of rank maintains and perpetuates the asymmetry of power relations, reproducing its institutional habitus and institutional state of cultural and social capital. The Royal Navy is quite open about the necessary attributes required for promotion and determine the decision-making processes required to achieve it. From

the very first day of joining the RN the inculcation of what is required to move and develop a career starts. Through role-modelling and additional responsibilities personnel are being prepared to undertake the additional responsibility for the next rank up.

The overt nature of the rank structure means that a career pathway is clear for all to see. Promotion through the rank structure is ostensibly through a meritocracy. It is entwined with systematic misrecognition, institutional cultural capital and the imposition of the cultural arbitrary - by keeping people focussed and engaged in pedagogic labour the Royal Navy exerts its power and dominance. This is a key aspect of misrecognition within the Royal Navy's practices of division based on meritocracy. This is a symbolically violent relationship and individuals engage in pedagogic labour to achieve it.

The awareness of the choices within the institutional habitus and its stratification is an important feature of the RN habitus and those with sufficient accumulations of capitals are able to identify and accept the power relationships and the imposition of the cultural arbitrary. Bound up within this habitus is the rank structure that creates strata and division. Thus, a divided field structure creates aspiration, aspiration to move up to the next level. Personnel choose to engage in it as they can see the benefits of doing so in terms of status, recognition, distinction and other privileges.

The Royal Navy has, therefore, a distinctive and stratified habitus. As individual's progress through their career they move from an aesthetic of function towards one of legitimisation. This is exemplified in terms of devices such as uniforms, badges, medals and other indicators of legitimisation that form the dominant aesthetic. For example, Roger and Andrew had their 'Dolphins', a small but significant indication of distinction within the wider RN. Those with distinction become the role models and set the standard for their subordinates. They transmit the doxa of the institutional habitus through replication and assimilation. As part of their career development it also ensures that with upward progression the necessary capitals are either developed or in the process of being so. It also provides an effective filtering tool without any specific or overt actions being undertaken as these are embedded within the doxa and their RN habitus. It means those that do not share the institutionally defined values and beliefs that the Royal Navy requires fail to progress to positions of influence and importance. In this way, the Royal Navy and its institutional habitus reproduces itself and the field is relatively stable. But it also explains why the institutional habitus can be slow to change as it can also be resistant to change from individuals.

This research has highlighted some of the social processes within the Royal Navy that have remained largely opaque to a wider academic audience. Through a process of traineeship, the cognitive and conative dimensions are developed. However, it appears that it is the affective dimension, coupled with the development of close familial and kinship bonds that is the component to move from a secondary habitus to the RN habitus. The research suggests that the development of cultural capital and awareness

of the institutional habitus and the field is something that is inculcated over time and is different for each person due to their own personal history and ethos. Agents seem to willingly volunteer for a full twenty-two-year career in the Royal Navy although they are dominated through the imposition of the institutional cultural arbitrary. This is enacted within the largely unquestioned doxa through a symbolically violent relationship. There is one point at which all the respondents identify a distinct step-change in the way they are treated. I have argued that it is at this stage when they have developed the RN habitus and are responsible for reproducing the next generation of personnel. My research suggests that individuals are changed by this experience which is largely viewed as a positive career with lasting impact.

I have suggested that the embodiment of a specific RN habitus forms the structuring principles for an individual's future choices, demonstrating the depth to which it appears to have become embedded. To use the navigation analogy, the RN habitus provides the map and the compass. Whilst it is acknowledged that the map is not always the territory, the RN habitus can provide individuals with a set of reference points from which to draw upon when the course is unclear.

## **Further Research**

The British Military are now increasingly working as a Purple Force (see glossary-p251). For effective joint working and endeavour, there must be commonality in working practices but also in values, beliefs and attitudes. In this thesis, I have focused on the Royal Navy and highlighted its particularity. However, from my insider position, I



suggest that if a similar investigation were to be undertaken in the British Army or the Royal Air Force, the findings would be quite similar to those in this thesis. One possible area for further research is the wider uniformed public services such as the Police Force, Fire and Rescue Service and the Ambulance Service, which could produce greater insight into the development of a specific habitus through the affective, kinship and familial dimensions that are developed within a different context or field.

The development of the affective, kinship and familial dimensions is a key finding in my research. These are developed through the immersive experience over time. The respondents talked of key or influential persons (Sea Dad/mum, *'the father I never had'*) that supported their career development. This approach could be extended into the wider aspect of organisational development through a form of mentoring.

Mentoring schemes are well established within some organisations but they tend to be reserved for the upper echelons of management rather than those at the lower end (see Clutterbuck 2004, Klasen 2002). An exploration of how employers use mentors at all levels within their organisations could be researched, focusing on how the affective dimension of mentees is developed.

Reay et al (2001: para 1) suggest that the concept of institutional habitus does need elaboration because 'despite the gaps and rough edges in the seams of the concept of institutional habitus, these do not vitiate its value but, rather suggest the need for further work'. This is developed by Morrison (2009), Reay et al (2009) and Darmody (2012). They suggest that an institution has its own expressive order and

organisational practices imbued within the institutional habitus. I have argued that a greater understanding of these practices and the influence they have on the process and pattern of choice making can be an important tool for the development of employees within an organisation.

The research that examines the de-conditioning process for service leavers is now becoming dated and does not always reflect prevailing social conditions (E.g. Jolly 1996). Whilst I have suggested that the core aspects of a loss of a coherent self and occupying two locations remains relevant and applicable, it is the influence of the more 'connected' world that has not been researched in depth. The recent report by Macer (2016) starts to focus on the experiences of service leavers accessing Higher Education and provides a point of departure for research in other areas of employment service leavers. The current Ministry of Defence manual for resettlement (JSP 534 2015) requires further development and enhancement to recognise and reflect the deeper impact the de-conditioning process has on service leavers.

In this thesis, I have shown how a civilian can be developed into a functioning member of the Royal Navy in a relatively short time. Through the development of a RN habitus, personnel develop and adopt the organisation's core values, beliefs and attributes and transmit them to the next generation coming under the broader term of affective dimension development. The Richard Review (2012) and the DfE (2014) report on apprenticeships both propose that there are similar benefits to employers through the adoption apprenticeships. Richard (2012:107) states that training and subsequent

employment of apprentices, results in 'an employer benefit[ing] from a more productive and loyal workforce'. One has to assume that the 'loyal' workforce comes from a sense of belonging and buy-in to the organisations core values, beliefs and attributes through the development of the affective dimension. The way this is achieved is through the specific common component that is a feature of all apprenticeship frameworks called Employment (sometimes called 'Employee') Rights and Responsibilities or ERR. The ERR contains overt statements of requirements that all apprentices should be judged against as having achieved before they can 'pass' that component. This is in contrast to the way the Royal Navy develop the core values, beliefs and attributes of its personnel. But this research suggests that they are very much in evidence under the broader term of the affective dimension development. In the Royal Navy, these attributes are developed but they are not overtly stated or assessed in the same way they would in an apprenticeship framework. This suggests that within civilian organisations, the acquisition and development of the specific values, beliefs and attributes are required to be explicitly stated, highlighted, and ultimately assessed, as they do not routinely feature in personnel development programmes. Further research that compares and contrasts how different civilian organisations inculcate within its personnel the required values, beliefs and attributes and ultimately develop the affective dimension has very clear links to current education policy and its future development.

Within this thesis, I have highlighted the low levels of completion of service leavers enrolled on the 'Troops in to Teaching' programme (less than 20%, Schools Week

2016). I have suggested that this could be attributed to a tension between two competing habitus and a lack of any real recognition of the affective dimension with the policy (DfE 2015). I have shown in this thesis that the BNIM approach to data collection is one way of seeking in-depth opinions of personnel, particularly if the researcher has an inside knowledge of the area, or areas under investigation. The notion of competing habitus as a possible underlying explanation for the low levels of completion needs to be further researched.

## **Concluding Remarks**

If we were to return to the title and introductory paragraph of this thesis, they served to highlight the opaque nature of the Royal Navy to an outsider looking in. This research has demonstrated the way personnel progress through their career and are able to adapt and fit in with the imposed cultural arbitrary to the point they develop the specific RN habitus and become arbiters of culture, passing this on to the next generation.

When they leave the Royal Navy, resocialisation can be a long and sometimes uncomfortable process. It requires individuals to draw upon some of the values, beliefs and attributes developed as part of a RN habitus to achieve balance and satisfaction as they gain momentum in their new life.



# Glossary of Terms

## Glossary of Terms (based upon Jolly 1989)

The RN like many discreet and specialist organisations has its specific and particular ways of working and internal organisation. In this section, I provide a glossary of the many unfamiliar terms that the reader could encounter but are used by respondents. I would encourage the reader to make full use of this as many terms used by the respondents, and the explanation and interpretation of the data is based upon it.

**2SL-The Second Sea Lord.** Primarily responsible for personnel management strategy and policy in the Royal Navy

**Billet-**The appointment or position within the RN

**Chief Petty Officer or CPO-** The RN equivalent rank of a Flight Sergeant in the RAF or Staff Sergeant in the Army. A CPO is considered to be one of the technical experts and advises the Officer in charge.

**Command Course-**The compulsory command and leadership training course that all NCOs undertake upon promotion to each rank. These courses are generic and non-specialisation specific and in addition to any other management courses.

**Commander RN-** A Commander in the Royal Navy. A commissioned Officer with an equivalent rank to a Lieutenant Colonel in the Army and Wing Commander in the RAF

**CoT-Care of Trainees.** This is a component of the DTTT course in which instructors are given specific training in the additional responsibility of caring for trainees. That is not say they were not cared for previously but in light of the Deepcut inquiry and the Blake report, it was felt that specific training should be given. This is especially pertinent for young members of the Armed Forces.

**DIT course-**The Defence Instructional Techniques course. This is the first and mandatory course that all instructors (military and civilians) undertake prior to being allowed instruct trainees. It has had many different guises and names over recent years. It is an instructor training course closely modelled by government training programmes that featured over the years (e.g. Manpower Services Commission training programmes of the late 1970s and early 1980s) whose primary purpose is to get large numbers of people trained or re-skilled.

**DTTT-**The Defences Train the Trainer or “Dee Triple Tee”. This is an extended course that includes elements of Coaching and Mentoring as well as Care of Trainees (CoT) as well.

**DO-Divisional Officer.** A senior rating or Commissioned Officer that is responsible for the personnel under their care. They are responsible for welfare, discipline, training and career development.

**Damage Control**-The skills required to keep the ship afloat and operational following any damage.

**Dits**-A story told by RN personnel. In the educational or training context, it usually has a particular meaning or point to make.

**Dolphins**-The gilt uniform brooch awarded to all ranks that have completed submarine training and have passed qualifying boards. They are traditionally awarded in a glass of spirit in which the recipient has to drink it and catch the Dolphins in their teeth.

**Draft**-The name given for a posting or movement to another unit. Ratings are drafted and Officers are appointed

**Drip**-To moan and complain about things

**FOST- Flag Officer Sea Training.** The organisation that ensures that the RN fleet is trained and ready for service. This is usually headed up by an Admiral.

**Firefighting**-Fire is a very real danger on board a ship. All members of the ships company are required to be able to tackle fires along with specialist teams on board. It is physically demanding and a very dangerous undertaking.

**Goffer**-A large wave that washes over the ship. Also, a bucket of water tipped over the head. To be goffered is to be punched hard.

**Growler**-A pork pie or sometimes known as a NAAFI land mine

**Greenie**-A member of the electrical specialisation.

**Jack Dusty**-A member of the supply or logistics specialisation.

**IMF (Initial Military Fitness).** A relatively new approach to military physical fitness training introduced in 2006. It aims to develop physical fitness that will have a direct bearing on the jobs a person might be expected to undertake on board a ship. At its core, it aims to develop strength and fitness to make personnel more robust.

**Instructor**-A member of staff responsible for the delivery of training. The bulk of RN instructors are Petty Officers and above. The RM instructors are usually Corporals in recruit and phase 2 training. The broad civilian equivalent would be an FE college lecturer.

**Instructional Specification or ISPEC**-The laid down set of aims and objectives that each lesson must follow. It forms part of the RN's systems approach to training where all training requirements are mapped and produced. It is a system that makes training management easier but does not always support the learning and is often seen by instructors as restricting their teaching.

**Killick**-The informal name used for any Leading Hand. It is the equivalent to a Corporal

**LRCC**-Leading Rates Command Course. A leadership and Management course that all personnel attend irrespective of their specialisation

**Leading Hand or Leading Rate**-The first rank that is formally recognised as having a command and leadership component. The equivalent of a Corporal in the RAF or Army

**Mank**-To complain in a whining or repetitive manner

**Mess deck**-The place on a ship or shore establishment that personnel live and relax. It is overseen by the mess deck Killick. SNCOs live in a similar fashion. Officers live in a Wardroom

**NCO-Non-Commissioned Officer.** NCOs are considered to be the backbone of the military. They ensure that orders are executed and maintain discipline within the ratings. They do not hold a commission. Ranks of PO, CPO, and WO2 & 1 are Senior NCOs or SNCOs.

**PT or Phys**-Physical Training. An essential part of life in the RN. All personnel must be physically fit to undertake their role.

**PTI**-Physical Training Instructor. A specialist branch within the RN/RM. A PTI provides structured PT sessions as well as more informal events. Whilst deployed at sea, PTIs undertake other duties as part of the ship's company.

**Petty Officer**-The RN equivalent rank of a Sergeant in the RAF or Army. A PO is normally the link between the Officer in charge and the lower ratings.

**Phase 1 training**-The initial training on entry to the RN

**Phase 2 Training**-The initial specialist training

**Phase 3 Training**-Individual professional or career development training

**Purple Role**-Traditionally each of the three services operated on their own. There is tri-service working and this is now becoming very common place. The Purple Role is derived from the dark blue of the RN, the light blue of the RAF, and the red of the British Army. When these colours are mixed, they produce purple, hence tri-service working is more commonly known today as the Purple Role.



**Ratings**-A collective term for **all** RN personnel including NCOs that do not hold a Commission. This will include Able Seamen (AB), Leading Hands (LH), Petty Officer (PO) Chief Petty Officer (CPO), Warrant Officer Class 1 & 2 (WO1 & WO2)

**SR**-Senior Rate. This is a general classification for ranks above PO (PO, CPO, WO2 and WO1)

**SRCC**-Senior Rates Command Course. A leadership and Management course that all personnel attend irrespective of their specialisation.

**Sea Dad/Sea Mum**-A well respected older rating or officer, sometimes self-appointed to educate younger men in the ways of the Navy. Today it can be viewed in terms as an on-the-job trainer and mentor/coach.

**WREN**-The collective term used for the Women's Royal Navy Service (WRNS). The WRNS was subsumed into the Royal Navy in 1993

**Warrant Officer**-The most senior rank for Non-Commissioned Officers.

## Appendices

### Appendix 1 Briefing and Consent Sheet.



#### ETHICS PROTOCOL

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As a member of the RN you will have undergone some form of transition from civilian to RN personnel. The aim of this research is to gain a new insight into this journey or transition. It is an opportunity for you to tell your own, individual story of how you made this transition. The study will draw together your story and that of other RN personnel and distil out any themes or commonalities.

#### **This study aims**

To examine how people make sense of their changing role from civilian to RN personnel.

#### **What it will entail**

- Collection of or narrative accounts (data) using informal interviews

#### **Informed Consent**

Permission to include an individual in the project will be deemed implicit by the participation within the interview process. This ethics protocol details how the research is going to be used and how the data stored. You should read this sheet to ensure that you are fully informed of the purposes and nature of the research. If you have any questions to do with this research, please ask the interviewer.

#### **Right to Withdraw**

If at any time you do not want to answer the questions or discuss a topic you do not have to or should feel compelled to do so. You can also withdraw from the project at any time without giving a reason.

#### **Risks**

Participating in this study will involve no personal risks to you as a participant. Plymouth University's general human participant ethics guidelines will be strictly adhered to.

#### **Feedback**

Your interview transcript will be made available to you in the first instance for you to check over for accuracy and confirm that you are still content for it to be used. A copy of the research findings in electronic form will be available for all participants at the conclusion of the study by contacting the principle investigator, Russell Shobrook. Efforts will be made to include the 'voice' of the participants in the research findings. The results of this study will be published as part of a PhD thesis and made available at Plymouth University library. You will also be informed of any technical reports or articles arising from the study that are accepted for publication.

#### **Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Any transcripts of interviews and all other collected data will be kept confidential, stored in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 and only used for research purposes. Your comments will be attributed to a pseudonym and your full identity will not be revealed in any research published from the results.

#### **Thank you very much for taking part in this research.**

If you wish to contact the principal investigator:

Russell Shobrook 01752 585475 [russell.shobrook@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:russell.shobrook@plymouth.ac.uk)

#### **Respondents Details**

**Name**

**Contact Details including email and telephone**

I confirm that I have read and understood this ethics protocol. I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this research project at any time. I agree that the data collected can be used within this project.

**Signatures**

Stage 1 interview

Stage 1 transcript checked and agreed

Stage 2 interview

Stage 2 transcript checked and agreed

Notes

## Appendix 2-Ethical Approval from Plymouth University



4 July 2013

### CONFIDENTIAL

Russell Shobbrook  
School of Education  
Faculty of Health, Education and Society  
Plymouth University  
Room 208, Nancy Astor Building

Dear Russell

Application for Approval by Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Reference Number: 12/13-110

Application Title: How do RN personnel experience the transition from civilian and how is this achieved?

I am pleased to inform you that the Committee has granted approval to you to conduct this research.

Please note that this approval is for three years, after which you will be required to seek extension of existing approval.

Please note that should any MAJOR changes to your research design occur which effect the ethics of procedures involved you must inform the Committee. Please contact Claire Butcher on (01752) 585337 or by email [claire.butcher@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:claire.butcher@plymouth.ac.uk)

Yours sincerely

**Professor Michael Sheppard, PhD, AcSS**  
Chair, Research Ethics Committee -  
Faculty of Health, Education & Society and  
Peninsula Schools of Medicine & Dentistry



### **Appendix 3-Daily Routine Orders Information to Participants**

RN instructors invited to take part in a Plymouth University research project. Russell Shobrook, a lecturer in teacher education at Plymouth University, would like to invite personnel to take part in a research project which aims to examine individuals' experiences of becoming a member of the RN. Russell has worked with both the RN, RM and RAF for over 25 years in the fields of education and personal development. When joining the RN, individuals undergo a transition from civilian to professional specialist; the aim of Russell's research is to gain an insight into this journey or transition/development. Russell is seeking participants to tell their own, individual story of how they made (or are making) this transition. Individuals can benefit from taking part in this research as Russell is willing to offer information and guidance to participants regarding their personal development, and in particular advice for those considering a future career in teaching.

Volunteers should meet the following criteria:

- Serving instructor (any specialisation or phase of training)
- LH, PO, CPO, WO (1 or 2)

The actual commitment will be 2 interviews, about 2 weeks apart, of approximately 1 hour each.

If you meet these criteria and would like to be involved or would like further information, please contact Russell directly:

[Russell.shobrook@plymouth.ac.uk](mailto:Russell.shobrook@plymouth.ac.uk) or call him on 07875 340816

A copy of the ethical protocol for the research is available here



## Appendix 4-Example of a Lived-Life Data Form

Name	Date of Birth	Have other members of your family served in the RN or Services?
XXXXXXXX	XX/11/19XX	Yes, Grandfather served in RAF during WW2.
Qualifications on leaving school at 16	3 O Grades English Geography Art & Design	
Qualifications on Entry to the RN	As above	
Civilian Qualifications since joining the RN	Mathematics GCSE Level 3 in Education & Training Level 3 in Workplace Coaching	
Specialisation on Joining the RN	Tactical Systems Submarines	
Specialisation now if different RN	Warfare Specialist Tactical Submarines (Same job – Different name).	

Time line of significant events since joining the RN This could include drafts, promotions, courses, specific personal events (such as birth of children, marriage, etc.), high and low points of your career, when you met significant people or role models in your career, points of clarity etc.	
Approximate Date	Event
21/05/84	Joined RN
Summer 1991	Leading Seaman Qualifying Course – Probably where I REALLY learned what my job was all about.
1993 - 1997	HMS XXXX. Where I met the “father I never had” – Jimmy Berwick... He showed me that I could be anything I wanted to be. VERY self-demeaning, warts and all, what you see is what you get. He taught me that it was a team game... Surround yourself with the right people, you achieve more. At Leading Rates Leadership Course, we studied John Adair’s action centred leadership (develop the



Jan – Mar 2001	individual, to enhance the team, to achieve the task). Jimmy Berwick showed me it worked!
Mar 2002 – Apr 2004	<p>Petty Officers' Qualifying Course – Where I met a person I admired – Finbarr Saunders, the “guy who threw away the ISPEC”. In hindsight, not the right thing to do. If he followed the proper channels, the ISPEC would have been changed A LOT SOONER, meaning all students who attended this course after me would have benefitted from an improved course, rather than just us because we happened to be there at the right time. The ISPEC was not actually changed until circa 2011, TEN YEARS after my course!!!</p>
Jul 14	<p>Draft to HMS XXXX. My favourite draft! Helped by what was going on in the world, at the time, this was just a fantastic boat to be on with some REALLY good running (deployments). In hindsight, this job cost me my marriage, as I spent so much time away from home, we were virtual strangers when I returned. STILL wouldn't change it for the world. A good bunch of lads, doing a good job. VERY rewarding.</p> <p>Joining the XXXXX XXXXX has got me out of the “pigeon-hole” I was in because of my drafting cycle. It has exposed me to a whole new world of training &amp; education. I never saw myself as much of a “teacher”, but this job has given me a MASSIVE boost in confidence, and also a possible direction for the future.</p>

## Appendix 5-Examples of Wengraf's Non-Directive Ques

Adapted from Wengraf, T (2004) The Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM)-Short Guide Version 22: Wengraf: London available at <http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/30/1/Biographic-NarrativeInterpretiveMethodShortGuide.doc>. (accessed 12 Feb 16)

Since the main purpose is to enable the speaker to go on speaking because they feel listened to, the thing to avoid is anything which cuts that flow of narrative.

**Don't console** like "It can't have been as bad as all that" or "Things will get better"

**Don't give advice** as to how to deal with a problem, how to avoid something, how to do (or have done) something better: ("I would have tried to convince the doctor.")

**Don't 'interpret':** "I think the problem is your father" and offer them some 'analysis' of your own

**Don't intrude yourself and your life-history** with comments like "I felt that too" or "I had a very similar experience"

**Don't ask for background or clarification.** This is best done after Sub-session 2, right at the end of the first interview, or after it. Though in other forms of interviewing, such a request is quite legitimate, in the initial narration of *this* type of interviewing, you don't have to understand or follow what is being said. Unless you are *completely* at sea, you leave this till later.

### INSTEAD, FOR NARRATIVE INTERVIEWING, NOTE THE FOLLOWING:

When the interviewee 'dries up' or even tries to get *you* to define what they should focus upon,

**DON'T** lose control by letting them evoke your system of relevancy even if they ask you to participate or respond or take over or give advice or anything at all

### TRY TO GET MORE STORYING, MORE NARRATING

By asking, for example,

"Are there any other things you remember happening?"

"Does it make you think of anything else that has happened?"

"Are you thinking about something else that happened?"

**WITHOUT specifying** the content of what the storying should be about, of those 'other things', the 'anything else'.



## **Appendix 6-Single Question that Induces a Narrative (SQUIN) Used for this Research**

SQUIN (Single Question aimed at Inducing a Narrative)

Research Question

**How do people experience the transition from Civilian to Royal Navy Personnel and their ongoing professional development?**

Sub-session 1

SQUIN

1 Can you please tell me about how you joined the Royal Navy and how it all turned out, your story of life in the RN (or RM) and your experiences of training and

2 all those events and experiences which were important for you, ***or how it all developed up until it stopped being personally relevant***

3 You could start around the time training began for you personally, the period of your life when RN (or RM) training became personally important.

4 Begin wherever you like

5 Please take your time, we have about 1hr 30 mins

6 *I will listen first, I won't interrupt*

*I will tell you if we are running seriously out of time*

*I will just take some notes for after you have finished telling me about the experiences that have been important for you.*

“Can you please tell me about how you joined the Royal Navy and how it all turned out; your story of life in the RN and your experiences of training and all those events and experiences which were important for you? You could start around the time

training began for you personally, the period of your life when RN (or RM) training became personally important.

Begin wherever you like

Please take your time; we have about 1hr 30 mins

*I will listen first, I won't interrupt*

*I will tell you if we are running seriously out of time*

*I will just take some notes for after you have finished telling me about the experiences that have been important for you."*

#### **Interviewing Phrases-Remember you are non-directional facilitative support**

*"Wherever/whatever suits you"*

*"Is there any more story you can tell me?"*

*"You are doing well"*

*"That's still hard for you"*

*"It's still painful for you to remember that"*

*"That makes you sad when you think about it"*

*"You feel angry about that"*

*"Any other things you can remember happening?"*

*"Was there some particular CRUCIAL incident or situation or time that you can recall?"*

*"Can you give me any example of an occasion when?"*

*Can you give me any MORE examples of similar events, incidents at that time/ of that type?"*

*"Do you remember/recall anything else?"*

**Don't console**

**Don't give advice**

**Don't interpret**

**Don't intrude yourself and your life history**

**Don't suggest what the interviewee might next talk about**

## Appendix 7-Example of a SHEIOT (Situation, Happening, Event, Incident, Occasion/Occurrence, Time)

Interviewee.....Data.....

Themes in order mentioned and in terms used by the interviewee	General----- -----Relatively general terms about <b><i>situation, time, phase</i></b>	Particular More particular terms about <b><i>incident, happening, occasion, event</i></b>	Illumination Only by More story e.g. <i>You said 'XXXX'- can you tell me more about how all that happened?</i> or <i>-do you remember any particular incident when 'XXXX'?</i>
Their keywords for your eventual return-to-narrative questions			Full versions of your return-to-narrative questions



## Appendix 8-Explanation of How an Interview was Conducted

This section is a detailed explanation of an interview using the participant called Lesley. I have chosen her for the variety and articulation of her interview responses as well as her openness and sometimes forthright views. I will not report each part of the transcript in detail as that will be done in the analysis chapter.

At the beginning of the recorded interview the SQIN was read out. The SQIN did seem to take her by surprise as she said that *"I might have to read that back to her again"* (line 18-19). The interview continued with a lot of interesting thoughts, admissions and I noticed she used a lot of rhetorical questions and claims of trying to be honest (e.g. line 23). I am unsure of the significance of the use of the phrase *'to be honest'* or *'if I'm honest'*. It may be a filler phrase in the same way as 'like' is used or it may be a way of increasing credibility or believability.

When I asked for further detail on aspects of her story in a non-directive way, the body language and other non-verbal cues suggested that there was more to say and I wanted to find out more. This hunch was confirmed as she says that *"I could talk for hours about it"* and the interview moved on and revealed a major component of her story. Why she felt it necessary to initially omit it I am not sure but it was a correct decision to push to gain further insight. Within the written transcript, it looks quite awkward but in reality, it was a matter of a couple of seconds and was part of the ebb and flow of a normal conversation. As we neared the end there is the coda which returned Lesley to the present or here and now as suggested by Labov and Waletzky (1967) or as Linell and Jonsson (1991:87) refer to as *'that was it'*. Throughout the



interview, I was making notes of interesting comments or themes that I would be following up in the part 1b interview using the SHEIOT.

In Part 1b there is a distinct change in the interview and its conduct. However, I have used the participant's words from the SHEIOT where possible and asked the questions in the order in which they were revealed. Each question is aimed at obtaining a greater response or developing a further narrative. Although the interviewer's voice is in more evidence, the balance of the transcript is heavily oriented toward the respondent so their voice is still dominant as Robson (2002) recommends.

To demonstrate how the SHEIOT notes are used I noted that Lesley had used the word 'adult' several times during the part 1a interview. I noted this on the SHEIOT and in the Part 1b interview I asked her to tell me more about it. What is revealing is her initial answer of *"what, where I have been treated like an adult and where I haven't?"*. This suggests that there was an area that should be explored further. So, I replied *"what it feels like to be an adult"* to get a clearer understanding of what she thinks being treated as an adult would look like. She went on to give me some idea of how she felt being treated as an adult. Based upon her previous responses throughout the interview I knew I would get examples as well.

Straight after these interviews I completed a reflexive passage of writing. In this I wrote about thoughts, feelings and observations. Wengraf (2001) suggests that post-interview writing should be undertaken with the view that it could be the only record of the interview should the recording be lost. I however felt that it could serve another

purpose, that of providing a series of reflections and other interesting points and areas to follow up. In reality it didn't provide as much of this as I hoped. However, this combined with the transcription did provide me with a more detailed insight and helped me prepare for the part 2 interview.

Transcribing the interview was done using a simple line numbering method as a form of indexing. Although it was very time consuming I found it helped me to connect with the narrative in a deeper way. As I transcribed I recalled the interview in great detail. I felt that I was actually a co-creator and that throughout the interviews that a third space (Wengraf 2001) was created and maintained, more so than I could or would have imagined possible.

Although Wengraf considers the part 2 interview as optional I felt that due to the novelty of the area under scrutiny and the complexity of the theoretical framework I felt it was important. A review of the parts 1a and 1b transcription was undertaken beforehand but with a specific task of looking for indicators of where the theoretical framework might be in evidence. The aim then was to review the area of the transcript and formulate a themed line of additional questioning to further explore. This would not only create further insight but also provide additional layers of data to support any claims made. Green et al (2012) and Robson (2002) advocate that additional sources of support should be sought to triangulate the data. Moreover, in an attempt to follow Bourdieu and Wacquant's suggestion of 'A particular case that is well constructed ceases to be particular' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:77) I wanted to provide additional evidence to highlight the particularity of each narrative. Then I would be

able to compare across each narrative to distil out any common themes in relation to the theoretical framework.

I developed a series of questions and adopted a form of shorthand to serve as prompts and reminders for me during the interview. For each question, I have provided a reference back to the source of the material in part 1a or 1b transcript. Maintaining clear and detailed records such as this means that managing masses of data is made easier and there is less chance of errors or omissions occurring.

The remainder of the interview was conducted in a similar way with fixed questions followed up thematic questioning as the narrative emerged. For example, I wanted to explore Bourdieu's concept of *Illusio* (Grenfell 2008). I open the questioning with bringing Lesley to a location in time, HMS Raleigh and her time with Phase 1 training. I then repeated her words from the parts 1a&b interview to bring her right to the point of her story. I then deliberately ask a slightly provocative question that then suggests that she justifies her previous statement by suggesting an inconsistent element to her argument or stance and then ask a related 'why' question. This started to provide more of an insight to what drives Lesley on and reveals how she plays the game within the field, resulted in her discussing the dispositions and why she does what she does. This led onto a further narrative in which Lesley reveals further insight about how she perceives instructor training and her own experiences of it.

It can be seen that the adapted BNIM method has provided a very detailed insight to how this respondent has experienced their RN career so far. Moreover, without

actually asking the specific research question I have recorded a rich description of their experiences. If I had simply asked that question the interview would have been a lot shorter but I would have only had a one-dimensional view of the participant.

Additionally, I may not have had any indication of what drives them to do what they do as well as how they deal with the tensions and ups and downs of their role.



## Appendix 9-Example of the Researcher's Post-Interview Notes

Post Interview Debriefing-Lesley XX Sep XX

A warm welcome with Lesley. When I met her a couple of days before she was quite outspoken in her willingness to give me the 'warts and all'. She was slightly nervous to start with and a bit non-plussed almost dismissive. This was in a similar way to Yan. I did think it was a rather different presentation of self at the time. However, as the story developed it became known that she has served with the RM in Afghanistan and is about to marry a RM.

Her story seemed to revolve around a search for being taken seriously and felt that her personal credibility not being recognised. That said she continually made reference to her ability and how it was very easy and even boring. Her interest in RN service has hit a bit of a wall and she is caught in the 'pension trap'.

She presented a persona of I've seen it all before, a sense of what do they (Senior Management) know. She said that she seems to be seen as having a 'drip' but feels that she has a genuine point or case for improvement.

There is a sense that she was not being treated like an Adult. This is a word that she has used several times and it seems to very important to her. She did at one point say that it made her feel like she was being told off by her dad. An interesting turn of phrase.

She made several references to the DTTT course as being painful and a waste of her time. When asked, she felt that there was too much 'pink and Fluffy' stuff going on in reference to the CoT and Coaching & Motivation course. I feel she has mis-understood the requirements and her role in this area. Her main gripes were around a bullish notion of the RN is a disciplined organisation and there are no places for please and thank you. She was at pains to say that the instructors were brilliant. That would suggest that her attitude toward the DTTT was her own construct and not one she got from the instructors on the course.

There was sense of not knowing what to say and again she was expecting a series of questions. Her initial stories started at quite a gallop but then as she settled in the narrative seemed to develop.

The narrative interview management was different this time as I made more use of non-directive prompts and spent less time making notes. This moved the narrative along and gave more insight to the points of the story. I aim to make more use of this in future interviews.

She was quite animated and used facial expressions to convey the emotions. Indeed, some of these I have seen with Royal Marine but not with RN personnel. When talking of professionalism and ability she made frequent gestures to her rank slides. This was as if to reinforce that as a PO she was automatically a Professional.



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